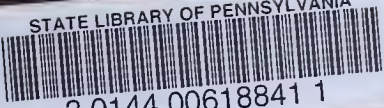


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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

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SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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SECOND VOLUME.

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THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

B O O K I.

CHAP. IV.

The history of learning, learned men, and seminaries of learning in Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.

NATIONS, as well as particular persons, have their infancy, in which they are not only small and weak, but also rude and ignorant. Even those nations which have arrived at the highest pitch of power and greatness, and have been most renowned for wisdom, learning, and politeness, when they are traced up to their infant state, are found to have been equally weak and ignorant. It would be easy to give a great many examples of the truth of this observation, but very difficult to produce one exception to it, either from an-

Original
ignorance
of nations.

cient or modern history. We need not, therefore, be surpris'd to find, nor ashamed to own, that there was a time, when the inhabitants of this island were divided into a great many petty states or tribes, each of them consisting of a small number of rude unlettered savages.

Historians
have ne-
glected to
trace the
rise and
progress of
learning.

The historians of all those nations which have become great and eminent, have taken much pains in discovering and describing the progress of their arms, the enlargement of their territories, and increase of their power and greatness; but unhappily they have not taken the same pains in tracing and delineating the cultivation of their intellectual faculties, and their gradual improvements in learning and useful knowledge. While the exploits of every victorious prince and general who had contributed to the aggrandizement of his nation, have been recorded with the greatest care, and extolled with the highest praises; the very names of those peaceful sages, who had enlarged the empire of reason, had improved the minds, and polished the manners of their fellow-citizens, have hardly found a place in the annals of their country. To supply this defect, at least in some measure, in the History of Britain, the fourth chapter of each book of this work is allotted to the investigation of the state of learning, and the grateful commemoration of those who have been most distinguished for their genius and erudition in the period which is the subject of that book.

The

The want of sufficient and authentic materials prevented our beginning the civil and military history of this island at a more ancient period than the first Roman invasion. The same thing forbids us to attempt deducing the history of learning from a more distant æra. The first dawn of science, like the dawn of day, is so faint and languid, that it is hardly possible to discover the precise period of its appearance in any country. Even in the savage state, ingenious and active spirits may now and then arise, who have a taste for study and speculation; but they are little regarded by their rude and roaming countrymen, and both their names and opinions are soon forgotten. It is not until states have arrived at some good degree of order, stability, and strength, and a competent number of their members enjoy leisure and encouragement for study, that learning becomes an object of importance, and a proper subject of history.

Improper
to begin
the history
of learning
sooner
than the
Roman in-
vasion.

There is sufficient evidence, that several of the British states had arrived at this period when they were first invaded by the Romans. In these states a very numerous body of men was supported in honour and affluence, at the public expence, for the study of learning and religion. These were the Druids, who were the philosophers, as well as the priests, of the Britons, Gauls, and all the other Celtic nations. "They pay the highest honours (says Diodorus Siculus ' of the Gauls)

A great
body of
men ap-
plied to
study at
that pe-
riod;

“ to their divines and philosophers, who are
 “ called Druids. It is their custom never to
 “ perform any sacred rite without one of these
 “ philosophers; for as they believe them to be
 “ well acquainted with the will of the Gods,
 “ they think them the most proper persons to
 “ present both their thanksgivings and their
 “ prayers².”—“ There are three classes of men
 “ (says Strabo) which are highly and universally
 “ esteemed. These are, the Bards, the Vates,
 “ and the Druids. The Bards are poets and
 “ musicians, the Vates are priests and physiolo-
 “ gists, and the Druids add the study of moral
 “ philosophy to that of physiology³.” The
 civilization of the ancient inhabitants of Gaul,
 and the introduction of learning amongst them,
 is ascribed by Ammianus Marcellinus to the
 Druids. “ The inhabitants of Gaul having been
 “ by degrees a little polished, the study of some
 “ branches of useful learning was introduced
 “ among them by the Bards, the Eubates, and
 “ the Druids. The Eubates made researches
 “ into the order of things, and endeavoured to
 “ lay open the most hidden secrets of nature.
 “ The Druids were men of a still more sublime
 “ and penetrating spirit, and acquired the highest
 “ renown by their speculations, which were at
 “ once subtle and lofty⁴.” If it were necessary,
 the testimonies of several other authors⁵ of anti-

² Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31.

³ Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

⁴ Ammian. Marcell. l. 15 c. 9.

⁵ Pomponius Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

Diogen. Laert. l. 1. § 3.

quity might be produced, to prove that the Druids applied with great assiduity to the study of the sciences.

When we reflect on the great antiquity and prodigious numbers of the Druids, the many immunities which they enjoyed, the leisure and tranquillity in which they lived, and on the opportunities and encouragements which they had to study; we must be inclined to believe that they had made considerable progress in several branches of learning before they were destroyed by the Romans. We shall be confirmed in this opinion, by observing the respectful terms in which the best Greek and Roman writers speak of their learning. Diogenes Laertius places them in the same rank, in point of learning and philosophy, with the Chaldeans of Assyria, the Magi of Persia, and the Gynnosophists and Brachmans of India⁶. Both Cæsar and Mela observe, that they had formed very large systems of astronomy and natural philosophy; and that these systems, together with their observations on other parts of learning, were so voluminous, that their scholars spent no less than twenty years in making themselves masters of them⁷. It is acknowledged by all the writers of antiquity who mention the Druids, that they were greatly admired and respected by their countrymen, who not only listened with reverence and submission to

and had made considerable progress before they were destroyed.

⁶ Diog. Laert. in proem.

⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13, 14. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. 3. c. 2.

their religious instructions, but also committed the two most important charges, the administration of justice, and the education of their most noble youth, entirely to their management. This is a demonstration that they entertained a very high opinion of their wisdom and learning, as well as of their probity. The British Druids in particular, were so famous, both at home and abroad, for their learning, that they were generally believed to have been the inventors of their systems of religion and philosophy, and universally acknowledged to be the best teachers of them; so that such of the noble youth of Gaul as were desirous of becoming perfect masters of these systems, found it necessary to make a voyage into this island for that purpose⁷.

From
whence
the British
Druids de-
rived their
learning.

It hath been disputed, whether the Druids were themselves the inventors of their opinions and systems of religion and philosophy, or received them from others. Some have imagined, that the colony of Phocians, which left Greece and built Marseilles in Gaul about the 57th Olympiad, imported the first principles of learning and philosophy, and communicated them to the Gauls and other nations in the west of Europe⁸. It appears, indeed, that this famous colony contributed not a little to the improvement of that part of Gaul where it settled, and to the civilization of its inhabitants⁹. “ The

⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

⁸ Vide notas Gronov. in Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

⁹ Strabo, l. 4. p. 181. Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

“ Greek

“ Greek colony of Marfeilles (fays Juſtin) civil-
 “ ized the Gauls, and taught them to live under
 “ laws, to build cities and incloſe them with
 “ walls, to raiſe corn, to cultivate the vine and
 “ olive ; and, in a word, made ſo great a change,
 “ both in the face of the country and the man-
 “ ners of its inhabitants, that Gaul ſeemed to
 “ be tranſlated into Greece, rather than a few
 “ Greeks tranſplanted into Gaul ¹⁰.” But though
 we may allow that the Druids of Gaul and Bri-
 tain borrowed ſome hints and embellishments
 of their philoſophy from this Greek colony, and
 perhaps from other quarters, we have reaſon to
 believe that the ſubſtance of it was their own.
 Others have ſuggeſted that the Druids derived
 their philoſophy from Pythagoras, who pub-
 liſhed his doctrines at Crotona in Italy, where he
 lived in the higheſt reputation for his virtue,
 wiſdom, and learning, above twenty years ¹¹.
 This conjecture is very much confirmed by this
 remarkable expreſſion of Ammianus Marcellinus,
 “ That the Druids were formed into fraternities,
 “ as the authority of Pythagoras decreed ¹².” It
 hath been alſo obſerved, that the philoſophy of
 the Druids bore a much greater reſemblance to
 that of Pythagoras than to that of any of the
 other ſages of antiquity. But it ſeems probable,
 that Ammianus meant no more by the above ex-
 preſſion, than to illuſtrate the nature of the Dru-

¹⁰ Juſtin. l. 43. c. 4.

¹¹ Seldeni *Metamorphoſis Anglorum*, c. 4.

¹² Ammian. Marcell. l. 15. c. 9.

dical fraternities, by comparing them to those of the Pythagoreans, which were well known to the Romans; and the resemblance between the Pythagorean and Druidical philosophy may perhaps be best accounted for by supposing, that Pythagoras learned and adopted some of the opinions of the Druids, as well as he imparted to them some of his discoveries¹³. It is well known, that this philosopher, animated by the most ardent love of knowledge, travelled into many countries in pursuit of it, and got himself admitted into every society that was famous for its learning¹⁴. It is therefore highly probable in itself, as well as directly asserted by several authors, that Pythagoras heard the Druids of Gaul, and was initiated into their philosophy.

Difficult to
give a par-
ticular
account of
the learn-
ing of the
Druids.

But though it is not difficult to prove, by probable arguments and good authorities, that the Druids were philosophers; yet it is certainly very difficult, or rather impossible, to discover many of the tenets of their philosophy. The fame of their learning hath indeed survived them; but the particulars of it have, for the most part, perished with them. This was chiefly owing to the two following causes: First, to that impenetrable secrecy with which they concealed their principles and opinions from all the world but the members of their own society. This prevented the Greeks and Romans from obtaining a

¹³ Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 74.

¹⁴ Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 304. Burnet Archeologiæ Philosophicæ, p. 11.

perfect and certain knowledge of the Druidical systems of religion and philosophy; which is the reason that we meet with so few particulars of these systems in their writings, and that some of these few have rather the air of conjectures and vague reports, than of certainties¹⁵. Secondly, to their strict observation of that law which forbid them to commit any of their doctrines to writing¹⁶. By this means, when the living repositories of these doctrines were destroyed, they were irrecoverably lost, not being preserved in any written monuments. The candid reader, therefore, will not expect a full and particular detail of the learning and philosophy of the British Druids. Though that was once perhaps a regular and magnificent fabric, yet it hath been so entirely and so long ago demolished, that it is with difficulty a few scattered fragments of it can be collected. The small remains of their theology, moral philosophy, and jurisprudence, have been already thrown together in their proper places¹⁷; and we shall here endeavour to collect some other sciences.

It seems to be natural for mankind, when they begin to turn their thoughts to study and speculation, to enquire into the origin, nature, laws, and properties of those material objects with which they are surrounded. Agreeable to this observation, we find, from the concurring testi-

Physiology
of the
Druids.

¹⁵ Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ, tom. i. p. 314, 315.

¹⁶ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

¹⁷ See Chap. II. Chap. III.

monies of several authors, that physiology, or natural philosophy, was the favourite study of the Druids of Gaul and Britain¹⁸. According to these authors, they entered into many disquisitions and disputations in their schools, concerning the form and magnitude of the universe in general, and of this earth in particular, and even concerning the most sublime and hidden secrets of nature. On these and the like subjects they formed a variety of systems and hypotheses, which they delivered to their disciples in verse, that they might the more easily retain them in their memories, since they were not allowed to commit them to writing. Strabo hath preserved one of the physiological opinions of the Druids concerning the universe, viz. that it was never to be entirely destroyed or annihilated, but was to undergo a succession of great changes and revolutions, which were to be produced sometimes by the power and predominancy of water, and sometimes by that of fire¹⁹. This opinion, he intimates, was not peculiar to them, but was entertained also by the philosophers of other nations; and Cicero speaks of it as a truth universally acknowledged and undeniable. “It is impossible

¹⁸ Cicero tells us (*de Divinatione*, l. 1.) that he was personally acquainted with one of the Gaulish Druids, Divitiacus the *Æduan*, a man of quality in his country, who professed to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of nature, or that science which the Greeks call physiology.—*Diod. Sicul.* l. 5. c. 31. *Strabo*, l. 4. p. 197. *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 13. *Mela*, l. 3. c. 12. *Ammian. Marcel.* l. 15. c. 9.

¹⁹ *Strabo*, l. 4. p. 197.

“ for us (says he) to attain a glory that is eternal,
“ or even of very long duration, on account of
“ those deluges and conflagrations of the earth,
“ which must necessarily happen at certain pe-
“ riods ²⁰.” This opinion, which was entertained
by the most ancient philosophers of many different
and very distant nations ²¹, was probably neither
the result of rational enquiry in all these na-
tions, nor communicated from one of them to
others, but descended to them all from their
common ancestors of the family of Noah, by tra-
dition, but corrupted and misunderstood through
length of time. The agreement of the Druids
with the philosophers of so many other nations in
this opinion, about the alternate dissolution and
renovation of the world, gives us reason to be-
lieve, that they agreed with them also in their
opinion of its origin from two distinct principles;
the one intelligent and omnipotent, which was
God; the other inanimate and unactive, which
was matter. We are told by Cæsar, that they
had many disquisitions about the power of God,
and, no doubt, amongst other particulars, about
his creating power ²². But whether they believed
with some, that matter was eternal, or with
others, that it was created; and in what manner
they endeavoured to account for the disposition
of it into the present form of the universe, we
are entirely ignorant, though they certainly had

²⁰ Cicero in Somn. Scipion.

²¹ Ancient Universal Hist. v. i. p. 51, 64, 67, 8vo.

²² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

their

their speculations on these subjects. We are only informed, that they did not express their sentiments on these and the like heads in a plain and natural, but in a dark, figurative, and enigmatical manner²³. This might incline us to suspect, that Pythagoras had borrowed from them his doctrine about numbers, to whose mystical energy he ascribes the formation of all things; for nothing can be more dark and enigmatical than that doctrine²⁴. The Druids disputed likewise about the magnitude and form of the world in general, and of the earth in particular, of which things they pretended to have a perfect knowledge²⁵. We know not what their opinions were about the dimensions of the universe or of the earth, but we have several reasons to make us imagine that they believed both to be of a spherical form. This is visibly the shape and form of the sun, moon, and stars, the most conspicuous parts of the universe; from whence it was natural and easy to infer that this was the form of the world and of the earth. Accordingly this seems to have been the opinion of the philosophers of all nations; and the circle was the favourite figure of the Druids, as appears from the form both of their houses and places of worship²⁶. Besides these general speculations about the origin, dissolution, magnitude, and form of

²³ Diogen. Laert. l. 1. § 6.

²⁴ Burnet *Archeologiæ Philosoph. c. 11. p. 210, &c.*

²⁵ Cæsar. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

²⁶ Diogen. Laert. in proem. De Ægyptis. Strabo, l. 15. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 2.

the world and of the earth, the Druids engaged in particular enquiries into the natures and properties of the different kinds of substances²⁷. But all their discoveries in this most useful and extensive branch of natural philosophy, whatever they were, are entirely lost.

The appearance of the heavenly bodies is so striking and illustrious, and their influences are so agreeable and beneficial to mankind, that they were certainly among the first and chief objects of the philosophic enquiries and attention of all nations. The truth of this observation is confirmed by the ancient history of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and every other country where the sciences have been cultivated. In all these countries, the most ancient and eminent philosophers were astronomers; and applied themselves with unwearied diligence to discover the aspects, magnitudes, distances, motions, and revolutions of the heavenly bodies²⁸. This was also one of the chief studies of the Druids of Gaul and Britain. “The Druids (says Cæsar) have many disquisitions concerning the heavenly bodies and their motions, in which they instruct their disciples²⁹.” Mela, speaking of the same philosophers, observes, “That they profess to have great knowledge of the motions of the heavens and of the stars³⁰.” The

Astronomy of the
Druids.

²⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

²⁸ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. I. p. 225. to 251. v. 2. p. 249. to 257. v. 3. p. 95 to 126.

²⁹ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. ³⁰ Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

last author seems to intimate that the Druids were likewise pretenders to the knowledge of astrology, or the art of discovering future events, and the secrets of providence, from the motions and aspects of the heavenly bodies; for he immediately subjoins, “That they pretended to discover the counsels and designs of the “ Gods³¹.” The truth is, that the vain hope of reading the fates of men, and the success of their designs, in the face of Heaven, appears to have been one of the first and strongest motives in all countries, to the attentive observation of the motions of the heavenly bodies; and astrology, though ridiculous and delusive in itself, hath been the best friend of the excellent and useful science of astronomy³². But besides this, the Druids had some other powerful motives to the study of astronomy, and their circumstances were not unfavourable for that study; which may incline us to give credit to the above testimonies. Some knowledge of this science was not only necessary for measuring time in general, marking the duration of the different seasons, regulating the operations of the husbandman, directing the course of the mariner, and for many other purposes in civil life; but it was especially necessary for fixing the times and regular returns of their religious solemnities, of which the Druids had the sole direction. Some of these solemnities

³¹ Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

³² Kepler. *Praefat. ad Tabul. Rodolphin.* p. 4.

were monthly, and others annual³³. It was therefore necessary for them to know, with some tolerable degree of exactness, the number of days in which the sun and moon performed their revolutions, that these solemnities might be observed at their proper seasons. This was the more necessary, as some of these solemnities were attended by persons from different and very distant countries, who were all to meet at one place on one day; who must have had some rule to discover the annual return of that day³⁴. Among the circumstances of the Druids that were favourable to the study of astronomy, we may justly reckon three;—that the sun and moon, and perhaps the planets, were the great objects of their adoration; and on that account they must have had their eyes frequently and earnestly fixed upon them—that their places of worship, in which they spent much of their time, both by day and night, were all uncovered, and situated on eminences, from whence they had a full and inviting view of the heavenly bodies. To these probable arguments and testimonies of ancient writers, the observations which have been made by some moderns may be added, to prove that the British Druids applied to the study of astronomy³⁵. In the account which Mr. Rowland gives of the vestiges of the Druids, which still remain in the isle of Anglesey, he takes notice; “As

³³ See Chap. II. § 1.

³⁴ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

³⁵ Theophil. Galium, de generali Philosoph. p. 12.

the ancients deciphered astronomy by the name of Edris; a name attributed to Enoch, whom they took to be the founder of astronomy, so there is just by a summit of a hill called Caer Edris, or Idris; and not far off, another place called Cerrig-Brudyn, i. e. the astronomers' stones, or circle³⁶." The former of these places may perhaps have been the residence, and the latter the observatory of those Druids in the isle of Anglesey, who applied particularly to the study of astronomy.

But though there is no want of evidence that the Druids of Britain were astronomers, yet it must be confessed that for the reasons already mentioned, we know very little of their discoveries, opinions, and proficiency in that science. The few following particulars are all that we can collect, with any tolerable degree of certainty, on these heads. Others may have been more fortunate and successful in their researches.

Druids
computed
their time
by nights,
months,
years, and
ages.

The sun and moon, according to the most ancient and venerable of all historians, were designed by their Creator "for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years³⁷," i. e. to measure the different portions and divisions of time, and to mark the returns and duration of the various seasons. To discover the measures, proportions, and revolutions of these was certainly one of the first and most important purposes, for

³⁶ Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, p. 84.

³⁷ Genesis, c. 1. v. 16.

which the Druids and the philosophers of all countries fixed their attention on these two great luminaries. The most perceptible division of time by these luminaries is into day and night; the former occasioned by the presence of the sun above the horizon, the latter by his absence, which is in some measure supplied by the moon and stars; according to the original appointment of the Creator. The Druids computed their time by nights and not by days; a custom which they had received from their most remote ancestors by tradition, and in which they were confirmed by their measuring their time very much by the moon, the mistress and queen of night³⁸. As the changes in the aspect of that luminary are most conspicuous, they engaged the attention of the most ancient astronomers of all countries, and particularly of the Druids, who regulated all their great solemnities, both sacred and civil, by the age and aspect of the moon³⁹. “When
 “no unexpected accident prevents it, they
 “assemble upon stated days, either at the time
 “of the new or full moon; for they believe
 “these to be the most auspicious times for
 “transacting all affairs of importance⁴⁰.” Their most august ceremony of cutting the mistletoe from the oak by the Archdruid, was always performed on the sixth day of the moon⁴¹. Nay,

³⁸ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 10. - Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

³⁹ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 231. and the Authors there quoted.

⁴⁰ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 10.

⁴¹ Plin. l. 16. c. 44.

they even regulated their military operations very much by this luminary, and avoided, as much as possible, to engage in battle while the moon was on the wane⁴². As the attention of the Druids was so much fixed on this planet, it could not be very long before they discovered that she passed through all her various aspects in about thirty days; and by degrees, and more accurate observations, they would find, that the real time of her performing an entire revolution was very nearly twenty-nine days and a half. This furnished them with the division of their time into months, or revolutions of the moon; of which we know with certainty they were possessed. But this period, though of great use, was evidently too short for many purposes, and particularly for measuring the seasons; which they could not fail to perceive depended on the influences of the sun. By continued observation they discovered, that about twelve revolutions of the moon included all the variety of seasons, which begun again, and revolved every twelve months. This suggested to them that larger division of time called a year, consisting of twelve lunations, or 354 days, which was the most ancient measure of the year in almost all nations⁴³. That this was for some time at least the form of the Druidical year, is both probable in itself, and from the following expression of Pliny: "That they begun both their months

⁴² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. i. c. 50.

⁴³ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. i. p. 231.

" and

“and years, not from the change, but from the sixth day of the moon⁴⁴.” This is even a demonstration that their years consisted of a certain number of lunar revolutions, as they always commenced on the same day of the moon. But as this year of twelve lunar months falls eleven days and nearly one fourth of a day short of a real revolution of the sun, this error would soon be perceived, and call for reformation; though we are not informed of the particular manner in which it was rectified. Various arguments might be collected to make it very probable that the Britons were acquainted with a year exact enough for every purpose of life, when they were first invaded by the Romans; but it will be sufficient to mention one, which is taken from the time and circumstances of that invasion. The learned Dr. Halley hath demonstrated that Cæsar arrived in Britain, in his first year’s expedition, on the 26th day of August: and Cæsar himself informs us, that at his arrival the harvest was finished, except in one field, which by some means or other was more backward than the rest of the country⁴⁵. This is a proof that the British husbandmen knew and used the most proper seasons for ploughing, sowing and reaping. The Druids, as we are told by Pliny, had also a cycle or period of thirty years, which they called an age, and which commenced likewise on the sixth day of the moon; but that author had not

⁴⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

⁴⁵ Philosoph. Transact. No. 193. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4.

acquainted us on what principles this cycle was formed, nor to what purposes it was applied⁴⁶. We can hardly suppose that this was the cycle of the sun, which consists of twenty-eight years, and regulates the dominical letters. It is more probable, that while the Druids made use of the year of twelve lunar months, and had not invented a method of adjusting it to the real revolution of the sun, they observed that the beginning of this year had passed through all the seasons, and returned to the point from whence it set out, in a course of about thirty-three years; which they might therefore call an age⁴⁷. Others may perhaps be of opinion, that this thirty years' cycle of the Druids is the same with the great year of the Pythagoreans, or a revolution of Saturn. Some have imagined that the Druids were also acquainted with the cycle of nineteen years, which is commonly called the cycle of the moon. But the evidence of this depends entirely on the truth of that supposition, that the Hyperborean island, which is described by Diodorus Siculus, was Britain, or some of the British isles⁴⁸. Among many other surprising things, that author says, concerning the Hyperborean island, "That its inhabitants believed that Apollo descended into their island at the end of every nineteen years; in which period of time the sun and moon having performed their various revolu-

⁴⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

⁴⁷ Stanley's Hist. Philosoph. p. 537.

⁴⁸ Carte's Hist. Eng. v. 1. p. 52, 53.

" tions,

“ tions, return to the same point, and begin to
 “ repeat the same revolutions. This is called
 “ by the Greeks the great year, or the cycle of
 “ Meton ⁴⁹.”

When the Druids and other ancient philosophers had fixed their eyes with long and eager attention upon the sun and moon, they could not fail to make some other observations on these great luminaries, besides those which immediately related to the mensuration of time. With regard to the moon in particular, they could not but observe, that the rays of light which she emitted were in many respects very different from those of the sun. This would soon lead them to discover, that the moon was not the original fountain of her own light, but that she shone with rays borrowed from the sun. Accordingly we find this to have been the opinion of the most ancient philosophers of every country⁵⁰. The dark places in the orb of the moon, even when she appears in her greatest splendour, are so remarkable, that they engaged the attention of the very first astronomers, and made them conjecture that her surface was like that of our earth, unequal, consisting of seas, valleys, and mountains. From thence they came to be generally of opinion that she was also inhabited⁵¹. As these

Other particulars of the Druidical astronomy.

⁴⁹ Diod. Sicul. l. 2. c. 47. p. 159. l. 12. c. 36. p. 501.

⁵⁰ Plutarchus de Placit. Philosoph. l. 2. c. 28. Burnet's Archæolog. Philos. p. 207. Dutens Recherches, &c. c. 12. p. 219.

⁵¹ Burnet, p. 180. 198. 226. Dutens, p. 223, &c.

were in particular the doctrines of Pythagoras, we have not the least reason to doubt but they were entertained by the Druids of Gaul and Britain. But the eclipses of the sun and moon, as they excited the greatest astonishment in the common people, so they awakened the most earnest attention in the ancient philosophers of all countries. It was not very difficult to discover the immediate causes of these surprising appearances; and therefore it is probable that the astronomers of all countries, after some time, found out that these extraordinary obscurations of the sun were occasioned by the interposition of the moon between the earth and that great fountain of light; and those of the moon, by the intervention of the earth between her and the sun. However this might be, it is certain that they observed them with the most anxious care, and recorded them with the greatest diligence and fidelity, as the most remarkable events in the history of the heavens⁵². These mutual obscurations of the heavenly bodies were generally believed, for many ages, to proceed from the extraordinary interposition of the Deity and to be portentous of some great calamity or revolution⁵³. It was even long before the philosophers themselves were fully convinced that eclipses proceeded from the established laws and regular course of nature; and still longer, be-

⁵² Porphy. apud Simplic. v. 2.

⁵³ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 12, Valer. Maxim. l. 3. c. 11.

fore they imagined that it was possible to foretel them a considerable time before they happened. Thales is universally acknowledged to have been the first of the Grecian philosophers who attempted to foretel an eclipse of the sun; and, from the account which Herodotus gives of that matter, he seems rather to have guessed at the year in which it was to happen, than to have discovered the precise time of it by calculation⁵⁴. Thales is supposed by some writers to have formed this conjecture by the help of the Chaldean cycle, called Saros⁵⁵. This cycle consisted of $6585\frac{1}{3}$ days, or 223 lunations, or 18 years 15 days eight hours: after which they imagined from a long series of observations, that the eclipses of the sun and moon returned again in the same order and quantity as before⁵⁶. It is possible that the Druids of Gaul and Britain may have been acquainted with this or some such cycle, collected from their own observations, or communicated to them by Pythagoras or some of his disciples; and by this means they may have predicted eclipses, in a vague and uncertain manner, as modern astronomers predict the return of comets,

Though the sun and moon, the illustrious rulers of the day and night, were certainly the chief objects both of the religious worship and

Their astronomy of the stars.

⁵⁴ Herodot. l. 1. p. 29.

⁵⁵ Flamsted Hist. Cælist. Brit. l. 3. p. 7. Letters to Martin Folkes, Esq. on the Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 93.

⁵⁶ Id. Letter 2. p. 13.

philosophic enquiries of the British Druids, yet we have no reason to imagine that they wholly neglected and disregarded those lesser lights which make so glorious an appearance in the canopy of Heaven. We are told both by Cæsar and Mela, that they studied the stars as well as the sun and moon; and that they professed to know, and taught their disciples many things concerning the motion of these heavenly bodies⁵⁷. From these testimonies we may conclude that the Druids were acquainted with the planets, distinguished them from the fixed stars, and carefully observed their motions and revolutions. If this discovery was the result of their own observations it would be gradual, and it would be a long time before they found out all the planets⁵⁸. They might perhaps have received some assistance and information from Pythagoras, or from some other quarter. But whether this discovery of the planets was their own, or communicated to them by others, it is highly probable that they were acquainted with the precise number of these wandering stars. Dio Cassius says, that the custom of giving the name of one of the planets to each of the seven days of the week, was an invention of the Egyptians, and from them was gradually communicated to all the other nations of the world; and that in his time this custom was so firmly esta-

⁵⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6, c. 14. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

⁵⁸ Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1, p. 249.

blished, not only among the Romans, but among all the rest of mankind, that in every country it appeared to be a native institution⁵⁹. The knowledge of the planets, and perhaps the custom of giving their names to the days of the week, was brought out of Egypt into Italy by Pythagoras, more than five hundred years before the beginning of the Christian æra; and from thence it could not be very long before it reached Gaul and Britain. But though we have little or no reason to doubt that the Druids knew the number, and observed the motion of the planets, yet it may be questioned whether they had discovered the times in which they performed their several revolutions. Some of these stars, as Jupiter and Saturn, take so great a number of years in revolving, that it required a very extraordinary degree of patience and attention to discover the precise periods of their revolutions. If we could be certain that the island in which the ancients imagined Saturn lay asleep, was one of the British isles, as Plutarch intimates it was, we might be inclined to think that the British Druids were not ignorant of the length of the period in which the planet Saturn performs a revolution. For that same author, in another treatise, tells us, "That the inhabitants of that island kept every thirtieth year a solemn festival in honour of Saturn, when his star en-

⁵⁹ Dio Cass. l. 37.

"tered

“tered into the sign of Taurus⁶⁰.” Every reader is at full liberty to judge for himself, what degree of credit is due to such testimonies, which in some of their circumstances are evidently fabulous, though in others they may perhaps be true.

Constellations and the zodiac.

If we could depend upon the above testimony of Plutarch, we should have one positive proof that the Druids of the British isles were acquainted with the constellations, and even with the signs of the zodiac; and that they measured the revolutions of the sun and planets, by observing the length of time between their departure from and return to one of these signs. But though we had no direct evidence of this remaining in history, yet it is certainly very probable, on several accounts. At first sight, the fixed stars appear to be scattered over the vault of Heaven in the greatest confusion and disorder. But upon a more attentive view, we are apt to be struck with the remarkable figures of some clusters of them, and to fancy that they resemble certain animals, and other things with which we are well acquainted. As these stars always present the same figures to our view, by degrees they make a deep impression on our imaginations, and the idea of them recurs every time we see them. Agreeable to this, we find that the practice of dividing the fixed stars into clusters

⁶⁰ Plutarch, de Defectu Oraculorum. Id, de Facie in Orbe Lunæ.

or constellations, and giving each of these a particular name, was very ancient, in every country where they applied to the study and contemplation of the heavenly bodies. A writer of great erudition hath endeavoured to prove, that several of the constellations, and even the signs of the zodiac, were known both in Egypt and Chaldea, above sixteen hundred years before J. C.⁶¹ It appears, from the writings of Hesiod and Homer, that some of the constellations, at least, were known to the Greeks in very ancient times⁶². Pythagoras, who flourished in Italy more than five hundred years before the birth of Christ, was well acquainted with the constellations and the zodiac⁶³. It seems to be almost certain, therefore, that the Druids of Gaul and Britain had obtained some knowledge of these inventions, either by their own observations or from the communications of others. But it must be confessed, that history hath not preserved any account of the particulars, and extent of their knowledge, in this part of astronomy.

The Druids of Gaul and Britain, as well as the ancient philosophers of other countries, had a general plan or system of the universe, and of the disposition and arrangement of its various parts, in which they instructed their disciples. This is both probable in itself, and is plainly intimated by several authors of the greatest au-

The mundane system of the Druids.

⁶¹ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 244, 245.

⁶² Letter to Martin Folkes, Esq; on Astronomy, p. 20. &c.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 119.

thority,

thority⁶⁴. But we cannot be certain whether this Druidical system of the world was of their own invention, or was borrowed from others. If it was borrowed, it was most probably from the Pythagoreans, to whom they were the nearest neighbours, and with whom they had the greatest intercourse. The mundane system of the Pythagoreans is thus delineated, by the learned Mr. Stanley, from the writings of these philosophers: “The sun is settled in the midst of
 “the world, immovable; the sphere of the
 “fixed stars in the extremity or outside of the
 “world, immovable also; betwixt these are
 “disposed the planets, and amongst them the
 “earth as one of them; the earth moves both
 “about the sun and about its proper axis. Its
 “diurnal motion by one revolution makes a
 “night and day, its annual motion about the
 “sun by one revolution makes a year; so as by
 “reason of his diurnal motion to the east, the
 “sun and other stars seem to move to the west;
 “and by reason of its annual motion through
 “the zodiac, the earth itself is in one sign, and
 “the sun seems to be in the sign opposite to it.
 “Betwixt the sun and the earth they place Mer-
 “cury and Venus; betwixt the earth and the
 “fixed stars, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The
 “moon being next the earth, is continually
 “moved within the great orb betwixt Venus

⁶⁴ Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. 3. c. 2. Ammian. Marcellin, l. 15. c. 9. Cluverius, l. 1. c. 38.

“and Mars, round about the earth as its
 “centre; its revolution about the earth is com-
 “pleted in a month, about the sun (together
 “with the earth) in a year⁶⁵.” A late learned
 writer is of opinion, that the above account of
 the Pythagorean system cannot be fairly col-
 lected from the writings of these philosophers⁶⁶.
 It would be very improper to enter into any dis-
 cussion of this question in this place; especially
 as we cannot be certain that the Druidical sys-
 tem of the world was the same with the Pytha-
 gorean.

It hath been imagined, that the Druids had
 instruments of some kind or other, which an-
 swered the same purposes with our telescopes, in
 making observations on the heavenly bodies⁶⁷.
 The only foundation of this very improbable
 conjecture is an expression of Diodorus Siculus,
 in his description of the famous Hyperborean
 island. They say further, that the moon is seen
 from that island, as if she was but a little
 distance from the earth, and having hills or
 mountains like ours on her surface⁶⁸. But no
 such inference can be reasonably drawn from this
 expression, which in reality merits little more
 regard than what Strabo reports was said of
 some of the inhabitants of Spain: “That they

Astrono-
 mical in-
 struments.

⁶⁵ Stanley's Hist. of Philosophy, p. 573.

⁶⁶ Clarke on Coins, p. 114.

⁶⁷ Carte's Hist. Eng. v. 1. p. 53.

⁶⁸ Diod. Sic. l. 2. § 47.

“heard

“heard the hissing noise of the sun every evening
 “when he fell into the Western Ocean⁶⁹.”

The application of the Druids to the study of philosophy and astronomy amounts almost to a demonstration that they applied also to the study of arithmetic and geometry. For some knowledge of both these sciences is indispensably necessary to the physiologist and astronomer, as well as of great and daily use in the common affairs of life.

Arithmetic
 of the
 Druids.

As soon as the inhabitants of any country are formed into civil society, and are possessed of property, they begin to need and to acquire some skill in the use of numbers for the management of their affairs. Even while they are still a nation of shepherds, and have no other wealth but their flocks and herds, they learn to count the number of their cattle of different kinds, to discover in what proportion they increase or decrease, to judge how great a number of one kind of animals is equivalent to a given number of another kind, and the like. When some of the people of this nation begin to cultivate the earth, and others to engage in commerce, their affairs become more complicated: they stand in need of, and by degrees obtain, a more extensive knowledge in arithmetical operations. But when a considerable number of the people of this nation, like the Druids of Britain, have been long

⁶⁹ Strabo, l. 2. p. 138.

employed

employed in phyfiological and astronomical reſearches, in diſcovering the natures and properties of bodies; the form and magnitude of the world; the order, motions, and revolutions of the heavenly orbs; we may conclude, that they have made conſiderable progreſs in the ſcience of numbers, and the arts of calculation. The truth of theſe obſervations is confirmed by the hiſtory of all nations both ancient and modern; in which we conſtantly find that the ſkill of every people in arithmetic was proportioned to their way of life, and to their progreſs in the other ſciences, and eſpecially in aſtronomy⁷⁰. On this foundation we may reaſonably preſume, that the Britiſh Druids were no contemptible arithmeticians. If we were certain that Abaris, the famous Hyperborean philoſopher, the friend and ſcholar of Pythagoras, was really a Britiſh Druid, as ſome have imagined, we ſhould be able to produce direct hiſtorical evidence of what is here preſumed⁷¹. For Iamblicus, in the life of Pythagoras, ſays, “That he taught Abaris to “find out all truth by the ſcience of arithmetic⁷².” It may perhaps be thought improbable that the Druids had made any conſiderable progreſs in arithmetic, as this may ſeem to be impoſſible by the mere ſtrength of memory without the aſſiſtance of figures and of written rules. But it is very difficult to aſcertain what

⁷⁰ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. I. p. 211, 212, 213.

⁷¹ Carte's Hiſt. Eng. p. 52. 68.

⁷² Iamblic. vita Pythag. c. 19.

may be done by memory alone, when it hath been long exercised in this way. We have had an example in our own age, of a person who could perform some of the most tedious and difficult operations in arithmetic, by the mere strength of his memory⁷³. The want of written rules could be no great disadvantage to the Druids, as the precepts of this, as well as of the other sciences, were couched in verse, which would be easily got by heart and long remembered. Though the Druids were unacquainted with the Arabic characters which are now in use, we have no reason to suppose that they were destitute of marks or characters of some other kind, which, in some measure, answered the same purposes, both in making and recording their calculations. In particular, we have reason to think that they made use of the letters of the Greek alphabet for both these purposes. This seems to be plainly intimated by Cæsar in the following expression concerning the Druids of Gaul: “In almost all other public transactions, and private accounts or computations, they make use of the Greek letters⁷⁴.” This is further confirmed by what the same author says of the Helvetii; a people of the same origin, language and manners with the Gauls and Britons. “Tables were found in the camp of the Helvetii written in Greek letters, containing an account of all the men capable of bearing arms, who had

73 Jedediah Buxton.

74 Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

“left

“left their native country, and also separate accounts of the boys, old men, and women”⁷⁵.”

When the people of any country come to be engaged in agriculture, architecture, commerce, and the study of the sciences, they have daily occasion to measure some things, as well as to number others. This obliges them to study the science of mensuration, in which they will by degrees obtain, partly from the information of others, and partly from their own invention, that knowledge which is necessary to their exigencies. From hence we may very reasonably conclude, that some of the Britons, and particularly the Druids, had made considerable progress in geometry, or the science of mensuration, as well as in arithmetic, before they were subdued by the Romans. This conclusion is confirmed by the best historical evidence; that the Druids were all acquainted with that part of this science which is properly called geometry, or the measuring of land. “When any disputes arise (says Cæsar) about their inheritances, or any controversies about the limits of their fields, they are entirely referred to the decision of their Druids”⁷⁶.” Now, we must be convinced that it was impossible for the Druids to determine these disputes about inheritances without the knowledge of geometry, when we consider that it was the law and custom of the ancient Britons to divide the estate of every

Geometry
of the
Druids.

⁷⁵ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1. 1.

⁷⁶ Ibid. l. 6. c. 13.

father equally among all his sons. In order to do this, it was necessary for these judges to be able to divide an estate into four, five, six, or more equal parts, according to the number of sons in a family. Nay, both Cæsar and Mela plainly intimate that the Druids were conversant in the most sublime speculations of geometry; “in measuring the magnitude of the earth, and “even of the world”.”

Geography
of the
Druids.

We have reason to believe that the Britons, especially the British Druids, were very well acquainted with the geography at least of their own island. Mankind, even in the most rude and imperfect state of society, gradually acquire a knowledge of the country in which they dwell, of the distance and relative situations of its mountains, woods, rivers, and other remarkable places, by pursuing their game and tending their flocks. But when they are formed into regular states and kingdoms, their knowledge of their country becomes more exact and particular, by the dispositions which are necessary in settling the boundaries of these several states. Sovereigns are at great pains to gain an exact knowledge of the situation and extent of their own dominions, and of those of their neighbours. When wars arise, and armies are marched, by the allies of both contending parties, from all the different and most distant corners of a country, the geography of the whole, and of every

77 Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

part of it, becomes more and more known. When merchants carry the superfluities of one part to supply the wants of another, they acquire a still more exact acquaintance with the situations and distances of places. But besides all these, the British Druids had peculiar opportunities of obtaining a perfect knowledge of the geography of their country. They were a very numerous body of men, who had societies settled in all parts of Britain and the surrounding isles, maintaining a constant correspondence with each other, and with their common head, the Arch-druid. By collecting and comparing the accounts of those different societies, a complete system of British geography would easily be formed. For it is certainly not to be imagined, that an order of men who were engaged in deep researches into the form and magnitude of the universe, would neglect to enquire into the form and dimensions of their own island. We have indeed no reason to suppose, that the geographical knowledge of the British Druids was confined to this island. It is more probable, that it extended much farther, though we cannot now discover how far it did extend.

The inhabitants of all countries, when they are once formed into regular societies, soon begin to employ their reason in contriving means to assist their natural weakness, and enable them to execute designs which they could not accomplish by mere bodily strength. This is evidently one of the valuable purposes for which reason was be-

Mechanics
of the
Druids.

flowed on men, and in this they have been more or less successful according to the exigencies of their various ways of life, the degrees of their natural ingenuity, and of their acquired knowledge. As long indeed as the people of any country live wholly by hunting and pasturage, their natural strength and swiftness may be nearly sufficient to answer all their purposes; but when they engage in agriculture, architecture, navigation, and other arts, they soon find that the utmost exertion of their bodily strength is often insufficient to accomplish their designs. This obliges them to exercise their reason in finding out the means of surmounting these difficulties, and executing the works in which they are engaged. In this mankind have been remarkably successful; and, by the discovery and application of the mechanical powers, as they are called, they have been enabled to execute many great and useful works, which were naturally impossible to such feeble creatures, without the assistance of these powers. As several of the British nations were not unacquainted with agriculture, architecture, navigation, and other arts, when they were invaded by the Romans, we may conclude, that these nations were not altogether strangers to the nature and application of at least some of the mechanical powers. Nay, there are still many monuments remaining in Britain and the adjacent isles, which cannot so reasonably be ascribed to any as to the ancient Britons, and which give us cause to think, that they had made

made great progress in this useful part of learning, and could apply the mechanical powers, so as to produce very astonishing effects. As these monuments appear to have been designed for religious purposes, we may be certain that they were erected under the direction of the Druids. How many obelisks or pillars, of one rough, unpolished stone each, are still to be seen in Britain and its isles? Some of these pillars are both very thick and lofty, erected on the summits of barrows and of mountains; and some of them (as at Stonehenge) have ponderous blocks of stone raised aloft, and resting on the tops of the upright pillars⁷⁸. We can hardly suppose that it was possible to cut these prodigious masses of stone (some of them above forty tons in weight) without wedges, or to raise them out of the quarry without levers. But it certainly required still greater knowledge of the mechanical powers, and of the methods of applying them, to transport those huge stones from the quarry to the places of their destination; to erect the perpendicular pillars, and to elevate the imposts to the tops of these pillars. If that prodigious stone in the parish of Constantine, Cornwall, was really removed by art from its original place, and fixed where it now stands (as one of our most learned and diligent antiquaries thinks it was), it is a demonstration, that the Druids could perform the most astonishing feats by their skill in

⁷⁸ Dr. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, l. 3. c. 2.

mechanics. It is thus described by that author: "It is one vast egg-like stone, placed on the points of two natural rocks, so that one may creep under the great one, and between its supporters, through a passage about three feet wide, and as much high. The longest diameter of this stone is 33 feet, pointing due north and south; it is 14 feet 6 inches deep; and the breadth in the middle of the surface, where widest, was 18 feet 6 inches wide from east to west. I measured one half of the circumference, and found it, according to my computation, 48 feet and a half; so that this stone is 97 feet in circumference, about 60 feet cross the middle, and, by the best informations I can get, contains at least 750 ton of stone. This stone is no less wonderful for its position than for its size; for although the under part is nearly semicircular, yet it rests on two large rocks, and so light and detached does it stand, that it touches the two under stones but as it were on their points, and all the sky appears. The two Tolmens (so these stones are called) at Scilly, are monuments evidently of the same kind with this, and of the same name; and these, with all of like structure, may, with great probability, I think, though of such stupendous weight, be asserted to be works of art; the under stones, in some instances, appearing to have been fitted to receive and support the upper one. It is also plain, from their works

“at Stonehenge, and some of their other monuments, that the Druids had skill enough in the mechanical powers to lift vast weights,” &c.⁷⁹ That the British Druids were acquainted with the principles and use of the balance we have good reason to believe, not only from the great antiquity of that discovery in other parts of the world, but also from some Druidical monuments which are still remaining in this island. These monuments are called Lagan Stones, or rocking stones; and each of them consists of one prodigious block of stone, resting upon an upright stone or rock, and so equally balanced, that a very small force, sometimes even a child, can move it up and down, though hardly any force is sufficient to remove it from its station. Some of these stones may have fallen into this position by accident, but others of them evidently appear to have been placed in it by art⁸⁰. That the ancient Britons understood the constitution and use of wheels, the great number of their war-chariots and other wheel-carriages is a sufficient proof; and that they knew how to combine them together and with the other mechanical powers, so as to form machines capable of raising and transporting very heavy weights, we have good reason to believe. In a word, if the British Druids were wholly ignorant of the principles and use of any

⁷⁹ Dr. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 174, 175.

⁸⁰ *Id. ibid.* p. 180, &c.

of the mechanical powers, it was most probably of the screw, though even of this we cannot be certain.

The medicine of the
Druids.

As the love of life is a very strong and universal passion, mankind in all ages and in all countries have endeavoured to discover the most effectual means of preserving it, and of curing those diseases which threatened its destruction. It is needless therefore to enquire when medicine or the healing art first began to be studied in this or any other country. As soon as there were men in this island who desired to prolong life and enjoy health this art was studied. But it was long, probably many ages, after this, before the study and practice of physic became the peculiar province of one particular class or order of men. In the savage roaming state every man was his own physician, and was at the same time ready to impart to all others who needed his assistance, all his skill, without the most distant prospect of reward⁸¹. But when a regular form of government, and a proper subordination and distinction of ranks came to be established in any country, then the care of health, and the study of the art of healing wounds and diseases, began to be devolved on such members of the society as were believed to have the greatest genius and the best opportunities for that study. In Germany, and in the

⁸¹ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 194. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 29. c. 5.

northern

northern nations of Europe, this important charge was chiefly committed to the old women of every state⁸²; but in Gaul and Britain it was intrusted to the Druids, who were the physicians, as well as the priests, of these countries. Pliny says expressly, "That Tiberius Cæsar destroyed the Druids of the Gauls, who were the poets and physicians of that nation⁸³;" and he might have added of the Britons. The people of Gaul and Britain were probably induced to devolve the care of their health on the Druids, and to apply to these priests for the cure of their diseases, not only by the high esteem they had of their wisdom and learning, but also by the opinion which they entertained, that a very intimate connection subsisted between the arts of healing and the rites of religion, and that the former were most effectual when they were accompanied by the latter. It appears indeed to have been the prevailing opinion of all the nations of antiquity, that all internal diseases proceeded immediately from the anger of the Gods; and that the only way of obtaining relief from these diseases was by applying to their priests to appease their anger, by religious rites and sacrifices⁸⁴. This was evidently the opinion and practice of the Gauls and Britons, who, in some dangerous cases, sacrificed one man, as the most effectual means of curing another. "They are

⁸² Keyser *Antiq. Septent.* p. 374, &c.

⁸³ *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. 30. c. 1.

⁸⁴ *Celsus*, l. 1. in præfat.

" much

“ much addicted (says Cæsar) to superstition;
 “ and for this cause, those who are afflicted with
 “ a dangerous disease sacrifice a man, or pro-
 “ mise that they will sacrifice one for their re-
 “ covery. For this purpose they make use of
 “ the ministry of the Druids; because they have
 “ declared, that the anger of the immortal Gods
 “ cannot be appeased, so as to spare the life of
 “ one man, but by the life of another⁸⁵.” This
 way of thinking gave rise also to that great
 number of magical rites and incantations with
 which (as we shall see by and by) the medical
 practices of the Druids, and indeed of all the
 physicians of antiquity, were attended⁸⁶. “ No
 “ body doubts (says Pliny) that magic derived
 “ its origin from medicine, and that by its flat-
 “ tering but delusive promises, it came to be
 “ esteemed the most sublime and sacred part of the
 “ art of healing⁸⁷.”

Anatomy
 of the
 Druids.

As some knowledge of the structure of the
 human body, and of the disposition of its se-
 veral parts, both external and internal, is so
 evidently necessary to the successful practice of
 every part of medicine, we may reasonably pre-
 sume that the Druids applied to the study of
 anatomy; though we cannot discover, with cer-
 tainty, what progress they had made in that sci-
 ence. Their way of life, particularly their fre-

⁸⁵ Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

⁸⁶ Le Clerc's History of Physic, l. 1. c. 13.

⁸⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

quent and earnest inspection of the entrails both of beasts and human victims, made the acquisition of some degree of anatomical knowledge easy to them, and almost unavoidable. What a very learned writer of the history of physic says of the Asclepiadæ, the descendants and successors of Esculapius, may not improperly be applied to our Druids: “ I would not be supposed
“ to affirm that the Asclepiadæ had no manner of knowledge of the parts of bodies. It
“ would be a great absurdity to maintain it; for
“ without this knowledge, they could neither
“ practise physic in general nor chirurgery in
“ particular. Without doubt they knew very
“ well; as for instance, the bones, their situation, figure, articulation, and all that depends upon them; for otherwise they could
“ not have set them when they were broken or
“ dislocated. Neither could they be ignorant
“ of the situation of the most considerable vessels. It is likewise necessary that they should
“ understand where the veins and arteries lie—
“ besides, it was highly requisite that they
“ should very well know the places where the
“ profoundest vessels meet, to avoid the loss of
“ blood when they made any incisions, or when
“ they cut off any of the members. In short,
“ they were obliged to know several places
“ where there were tendons and ligaments, and
“ some considerable nerves.—Besides this, they
“ knew something in general of the chief intestines; as the stomach, the guts, the liver,
“ the

“ the spleen, the kidnies, the bladder, the ma-
 “ trix, the diaphragm, the heart, the lungs,
 “ and the brain⁸⁸.” All this knowledge, that
 writer supposes, these ancient practitioners might
 have obtained by their observations on animals
 slain for food and for sacrifice, and by various
 other ways; without dissecting human bodies,
 with a direct view to learn the structure and
 situation of their different parts⁸⁹. If we could
 depend upon the truth of what we find in some
 authors, concerning the prodigious number of
 human subjects dissected by the Druids, we
 should be led to think that they must have at-
 tained to something more than the general know-
 ledge of anatomy above described. “ They en-
 “ couraged the science of anatomy to such an
 “ excess, and so much beyond all reason and
 “ humanity, that one of their doctors, called
 “ Herophilus, is said to have read lectures on
 “ the bodies of more than 700 living men, to
 “ shew therein the secrets and wonders of the
 “ human fabric⁹⁰.”

Surgery of
 the Druids.

Surgery was certainly the most ancient part of
 medicine in every country; and the first prac-
 titioners in the art of healing were more pro-
 perly surgeons than physicians⁹¹. The violent

⁸⁸ Le Clerc's History of Physic, translated by Dr. Drake, b. 2.
 c. 5, p. 115.

⁸⁹ Id. *ibid.* p. 116.

⁹⁰ Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 96. from Galtruch. Poet.
 Hist. 1. 3. c. 4.

⁹¹ Celsus in Præfat. Le Clerc Hist. Physic. b. 1. c. 16. p. 48.

pain which was felt by those who had received wounds, bruises, fractures, and dislocations, made them cry earnestly for immediate assistance. The causes of these injuries being well known, and the seats of them being visible to the eyes, and accessible to the hands, and to external applications, various means were no doubt used to give them relief. Some of these means were found to be effectual in certain cases, which were therefore carefully preserved in memory, communicated from one to another, and at length became the established rules of practice in all similar cases. The British Druids enjoyed great advantages for making and preserving discoveries of this kind. They had extensive practice, were a numerous body of men, ever ready to communicate their discoveries to each other, and to their disciples. By this means they must have collected, in a long tract of time, a great number of successful experiments in the art of healing wounds, setting bones, reducing dislocations, curing ulcers, &c. Finding that the cures which they performed contributed not a little to the advancement both of their fame and wealth, they were at great pains to conceal the real means by which they performed them, from all but the initiated: and in order to this, they disguised and blended all their applications with a multitude of insignificant charms. This is the reason that so few particulars of the surgical operations and medical applications of the British Druids

Druids have been preserved, though we have several long details of their charms and magical practices. For their useful knowledge being kept secret, perished with them; while their charms and incantations, being visible to all, have been preserved.

Botany of
the Druids

The *materia medica* of the most ancient physicians of all countries was very scanty, and consisted only of a few herbs, which were believed to have certain salutary and healing virtues⁹². For this reason the study of botany, or of the nature and virtue of herbs and plants, was very ancient and universal. That the Druids of Gaul and Britain applied to this study, and made great use of herbs for medicinal purposes, we have sufficient evidence⁹³. They not only had a most superstitious veneration for the mistletoe of the oak, on a religious account, but they also entertained a very high opinion of its medical virtues, and esteemed it a kind of panacea, or remedy for all diseases. “They call it (says Pliny) by a name which in their language signifies Allheal, because they have an opinion that it cureth all diseases⁹⁴.” They believed it to be in particular a specific against barrenness, and a sovereign antidote against the fatal effects of poisons of all kinds⁹⁵. It was esteemed also an excellent emollient and discutient for softening

⁹² Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 25. c. 1.

⁹³ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 205.

⁹⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

⁹⁵ Id. *ibid*.

and discussing hard tumours; good for drying up scrophulous sores; for curing ulcers and wounds; and (provided it was not suffered to touch the earth after it was cut) it was thought to be a very efficacious medicine in the epilepsy or falling-sickness⁹⁶. It hath been thought useful in this last calamitous disease by some modern physicians⁹⁷. The pompous ceremonies with which the mistletoe was gathered by the Druids have been already described⁹⁸. The Selago, a kind of hedge hyssop, resembling favin, was another plant much admired by the Druids of Gaul and Britain, for its supposed medicinal virtues, particularly in all diseases of the eyes. But its efficacy, according to them, depended very much upon its being gathered exactly in the following manner: The person who gathered it was to be clothed in a white robe, to have his feet bare, and washed in pure water; to offer a sacrifice of bread and wine before he proceeded to cut it; which he was to do with his right hand covered with the skirt of his garment, and with a hook of some more precious metal than iron. When it was cut, it was to be received into, and kept in a new and very clean cloth. When it was gathered exactly according to this whimsical ritual, they affirmed that it was not only an excellent medicine, but also a powerful charm, and preservative from misfortunes and unhappy acci-

⁹⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 24. c. 4. Vide Keyssler. Dissert. de Visco Druidum, 304.

⁹⁷ Dissertation by Sir John Colbatch. London, 1719.

⁹⁸ See Chap. II.

dents of all kinds⁹⁹. They entertained a high opinion also of the herb Samolus, or marshwort, for its sanative qualities; and gave many directions for the gathering it, no less fanciful than those above-mentioned. The person who was to perform that office was to do it fasting, and with his left hand; he was on no account to look behind him, nor to turn his face from the herbs he was gathering¹⁰⁰. It would be tedious to relate the extravagant notions they entertained of the many virtues of the vervaine, and to recount the ridiculous mummeries which they practised in gathering and preparing it, both for the purposes of divination and physic. These things may be seen in the author quoted below, from whence we have received all these anecdotes of the botany of the Druids¹⁰¹. It is easy to see that his information was very imperfect; and that, like many of the other Greek and Roman writers, he designedly represents the philosophers of Gaul and Britain in an unfavourable light. The herb which was called Britannica by the ancients, which some think was the great water-dock, and others the cochlearea or scurvy-grass, was probably much used in this island for medical purposes; as it derived its name from Britain, and was from hence exported to Rome and other parts¹⁰². Though these few imperfect hints are

⁹⁹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 24. c. 11.

¹⁰⁰ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 25. c. 9.

¹⁰² Id. l. 29. c. 3. l. 26. in poem.

all that we can now collect of the botany of the British Druids, yet we have some reason to think that they were not contemptible botanists. Their circumstances were peculiarly favourable for the acquisition of this kind of knowledge. For as they spent most of their time in the recesses of mountains, groves and woods, the spontaneous vegetable productions of the earth constantly presented themselves to their view, and courted their attention.

The opinions which, it is said the Druids of Gaul and Britain entertained of their Anguinum or serpent egg, both as a charm and as a medicine, are romantic and extravagant in a very high degree. This extraordinary egg was formed, as they pretended, by a great number of serpents interwoven and twined together; and when it was formed, it was raised up in the air by the hissing of these serpents, and was to be caught in a clean white cloth, before it fell to the ground. The person who caught it was obliged to mount a swift horse, and to ride away at full speed to escape from the serpents who pursued him with great rage, until they were stopped by some river. The way of making trial of the genuineness of this egg was no less extraordinary. It was to be encased in gold, and thrown into a river, and if it was genuine it would swim against the stream. "I have seen (says Pliny) that egg; "it is about the bigness of a moderate apple, "its shell is a cartilaginous incrustation, full of

The Anguinum
of the
Druids.

“ little cavities, such as are on the legs of the poly-
 “ pus; it is the insignia or badge of distinction
 “ of the Druids ¹⁰³.” The virtues which they
 ascribed to this egg were many and wonderful.
 It was particularly efficacious to render those who
 carried it about with them superior to their ad-
 versaries in all disputes, and to procure them the
 favour and friendship of great men ¹⁰⁴. Some
 have thought that this whole affair of the ser-
 pents’ egg was a mere fraud, contrived by the
 Druids, to excite the admiration and pick the
 pockets of the credulous people, who purchased
 these wonder-working eggs from them at a high
 price ¹⁰⁵. Others have imagined that this story
 of the Anguinum (of which there is an ancient
 monument in the cathedral at Paris) was an em-
 blematical representation of the doctrine of the
 Druids concerning the creation of the world.
 The serpents (say they) represent the Divine
 Wisdom forming the universe, and the egg is
 the emblem of the world formed by that Wis-
 dom ¹⁰⁶. It may be added, that the virtue as-
 cribed to the Anguinum, of giving those who
 possessed it a superiority over others, and endear-
 ing them to great men, may perhaps be intended
 to represent the natural effects of learning and
 philosophy. But in so doubtful a matter every
 one is at full liberty to form what judgment he
 thinks proper.

¹⁰³ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 29. c. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁰⁵ Dr. Borlase’s Antiq. Cornwall, p. 142.

¹⁰⁶ Universal History, v. 18. p. 590. octavo.

If we know little of the *materia medica* of the British Druids, we know still less of their pharmacy, or their methods of preparing their medicines. We have good reason however to believe that they had made the preparation and composition of medicines their study; for many things which in their natural state are useless, and even noxious, become salutary and medicinal when properly prepared; and therefore without some knowledge of pharmacy, it is impossible to practise physic to any purpose. We learn, from scattered hints in Pliny's *Natural History*, that the Druids sometimes extracted the juices of herbs and plants, by bruising and steeping them in cold water; and sometimes by infusing them in wine: that they made potions and decoctions by boiling them in water, and perhaps in other liquors: that they sometimes administered them in the way of fumigation: that on some occasions they dried the leaves, stalks, and roots of plants, and afterwards infused them¹⁰⁷: and finally, that they were not ignorant of the art of making salves and ointments of vegetables¹⁰⁸. But as these hints are few, and merely incidental, we may reasonably suppose that the Druids had many other ways of preparing and compounding their medicines, which are now unknown.

¹⁰⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 24. c. 11. l. 25. c. 9. l. 16. c. 44. l. 24. c. 11. l. 25. c. 9.

¹⁰⁸ Id. *ibid*.

Rhetoric
of the
Druids.

As the influence and authority of the Druids in their country depended very much upon the reputation of their superior wisdom and learning, they wisely applied to the study of those sciences which most directly contributed to the support and advancement of that reputation. In this number, besides those already mentioned, we may justly reckon rhetoric, or the art of speaking in a clear, elegant, persuasive, and affecting manner. This noble art was diligently studied and taught by the Druids of Gaul and Britain; and to the charms of their eloquence they were indebted for much of the admiration and authority which they enjoyed. Mela says in express terms, that the Druids were great masters and teachers of eloquence¹⁰⁹. Among their deities they had one who was named Ogmius, which in their language signifies the power of eloquence¹¹⁰. He was esteemed and worshipped by them, with great devotion, as the patron of orators, and the god of eloquence. They painted him as an old man, surrounded by a great multitude of people, with slender chains reaching from his tongue to their ears. The people seemed to be pleased with their captivity, and discovered no inclination to break their chains. Lucian (from whom we have this account) expressing his surprise at this picture, it was thus explained to him by a

¹⁰⁹ Mela de Situ Orbis, l. 3. c. 2.

¹¹⁰ Keyfler Antiq. Septent. p. 38.

Druid:

Druid: " You will cease to be surpris'd when
" I tell you, that we make Hercules (whom we
" call Ogmios) the god of eloquence, contrary
" to the Greeks, who give that honour to Mer-
" cury, who is so far inferior to him in strength.
" We represent him as an old man; because
" eloquence never shows itself so lively and
" strong as in the mouths of old people. The
" relation which the ear hath to the tongue
" justifies the picture of the old man who holds
" so many people fast by the tongue. Neither
" do we think it any affront to Hercules to have
" his tongue bored; since, to tell you all in one
" word, it was that which made him succeed in
" every thing; and that it was by his eloquence
" that he subdued the hearts of all men¹¹¹." The
Druids of Britain had many calls and opportu-
nities to display their eloquence, and to discover
its great power and efficacy—as, when they were
teaching their pupils in their schools—when they
discours'd in public to the people on religious
and moral subjects—when they pleaded causes in
the courts of justice—and when they harangued
in the great councils of the nation, and at the
heads of armies ready to engage in battle; some-
times with a view to inflame their courage, and
at other times with a design to allay their fury,
and dispose them to make peace. Though this
last was certainly a very difficult task among fierce
and warlike nations, yet such was the authority

¹¹¹ Lucian in *Hercule Gallico*.

and eloquence of the Druids that they frequently succeeded in it. “ They pay a great regard
 “ (says Diodorus Siculus) to their exhortations,
 “ not only in the affairs of peace, but even of
 “ war, and these are respected both by their
 “ friends and enemies. They sometimes step in
 “ between two hostile armies, who are standing
 “ with their swords drawn and their spears extended, ready to engage; and by their eloquence, as by an irresistible enchantment, they prevent the effusion of blood, and prevail upon them to sheath their swords. So great are the charms of eloquence and the power of wisdom, even among the most fierce barbarians¹¹².”

The British kings and chieftains, who were educated by the Druids, were famous for their eloquence. This is evident from the many noble speeches which are ascribed to them by the Greek and Roman writers¹¹³. For though these speeches may not be genuine, yet they are a proof that it was a well known fact that these princes were accustomed to make harangues on these and the like occasions. This we are expressly told by Tacitus: “ The British chieftains, before a battle, fly from rank to rank, and address their men with animating speeches, tending to inflame their courage, increase their hopes, and dispel their fears¹¹⁴.” These harangues

¹¹² Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 8. ¶ 1. p. 354.

¹¹³ Vide Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34. 37. l. 14. c. 33. Vita Agric. c. 30, 31, 32. Xiphilin. ex Dione in vita Neronis.

¹¹⁴ Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34.

were called in the ancient language of Britain, Brofnichiy Kah, which is literally translated by Tacitus, *Incentamenta Belli*, incentives to war¹¹⁵. The genuine posterity of the ancient Britons long retained their taste for eloquence, and their high esteem for those who excelled in that art¹¹⁶. “Orators (says Mr. Martin) were in high esteem, both in these islands (the *Æbudæ*) and the continent, until within these forty years. They sat always among the nobles or chiefs of families in the streat, or circle. Their houses and little villages were sanctuaries as well as churches, and they took place before doctors of physic. The Orators, after the Druids were extinct, were brought in to preserve the genealogy of families, and to repeat the same at every succession of a chief; and upon the occasion of marriages and births, they made epithalamiums and panegyrics, which the poet or bard pronounced. The Orators, by the force of their eloquence, had a powerful ascendant over the greatest men in their time: for if any Orator did but ask the habit, arms, horse, or any other thing belonging to the greatest man in these islands, it was readily granted him; sometimes out of respect, and sometimes for fear of being exclaimed against by a satire, which in those days was reckoned a great dishonour¹¹⁷.”

¹¹⁵ Tacit. *Annal.* l. 12, c. 34.

¹¹⁶ Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 104.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 115.

Before we leave this subject of the learning of the ancient Britons, and particularly of the Druids, it may not be improper to enquire—whether or not they had the knowledge and use of letters—and whether they studied and understood any other language besides their native tongue, before this island was invaded by the Romans?

Of the
knowledge
of letters
among the
British
Druids.

After what hath been said of the learning of the British Druids, it will, no doubt, appear surprising to many readers, to hear it made a question, whether they had the knowledge of letters, or, in other words, whether they could read and write. This most wonderful of all arts, the art of painting thoughts and making sounds visible, is now happily become so common, that it is hardly considered as a part of learning, and is known to the lowest and most ignorant of the people. But the case was very different in those remote ages which preceded the invasion of the Romans. If letters were then known in this island, it was only to a few who devoted their lives to study, and were admired as prodigies of learning. If we may believe some ancient writers, there was a time “when the use of letters was reckoned “dishonourable by all the barbarous nations of “Europe”.” Tacitus assures us, that in his time, which was more than one hundred years after the first Roman invasion of Britain, both the men and women of Germany were ignorant of

the secret or use of letters¹¹⁸. This assertion is not to be understood indeed in its utmost latitude, as if letters had been absolutely unknown in Germany. From the manner in which it is introduced, it seems probable, that Tacitus meant only to affirm that letters were not then generally known in Germany nor used in the common affairs of life; though they might be known to a few learned and curious persons, and used on some great occasions. This last appears to have been the state of things with respect to letters in Britain at the period we are now considering. They were certainly neither generally known nor in common use, though we have good reason to believe, that they were known to the Druids, and perhaps to some of the great who were educated by them. The very law of the Druids, which is mentioned by Cæsar, against committing their doctrines to writing, is a sufficient evidence that they were not unacquainted with the use of letters¹¹⁹. For if they had been ignorant of the art of writing, they could neither have had any necessity for, nor any idea of, such a law. The reasons also which are assigned by Cæsar for this law and practice, demonstrate that this illustrious writer knew very well that the Druids were capable of committing their doctrines to writing, if they had not been restrained from it by a law founded on these political considerations. Few

¹¹⁸ Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 19.

¹¹⁹ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

will suppose that Cæsar was capable of falling into such an absurdity as to seek for reasons why the Druids did not commit their doctrines to writing, if he had known that they could not write. It appears that he knew the contrary. For he plainly tells, that in all other affairs and transactions, except those of religion and learning, they made use of letters; and that the letters which they used, were those of the Greek alphabet¹²⁰. We learn from Strabo, that the Druids of Gaul received the knowledge of the Greek letters from the Greek colony at Marseilles. “All the people of the neighbouring nations, “who are of a liberal and studious disposition, “go to Marseilles, and there apply to the study “of learning and philosophy. This city hath “for some time past been a kind of university to “the Barbarians; and so great a taste for the “Greek learning hath prevailed among the “Gauls, that they wrote all their contracts and “other legal deeds in Greek letters¹²¹.” The Britons, and particularly their Druids, might receive the knowledge of the Greek letters, either directly from the Greek merchants of Marseilles, who frequented this island on account of trade, or from the Druids of Gaul, with whom they kept up a constant and friendly intercourse. In general, we have good reason to suppose that the Druids of Britain were not ignorant of any part

¹²⁰ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

¹²¹ Strabo, l. 4. p. 181. edit. Paris, A. D. 1620.

of learning with which their brethren of Gaul were acquainted, when we know that the most learned and inquisitive Gauls frequently came into this island to perfect their education. We may therefore conclude, that the letters of the Greek alphabet were known to the learned among the Britons, and used by them, on some occasions, in writing contracts, treaties, and other important deeds, before they were invaded and conquered by the Romans. By that conquest the Roman letters were introduced, and from thenceforward continued to be used, not only by those Britons who learned to speak and write the Latin language, but even by those who still retained the use of their native tongue.

It would be very improper (as it is foreign to our present subject) to enter upon a laborious disquisition concerning the old Irish alphabet, which is called Beth-luis-nion, from its three first letters, B, L, N. This alphabet, as we are gravely told by some Irish antiquaries, was invented by Finiufa Farfa, great-grandson of Japhet, who seems to have had a wonderful genius for inventing alphabets. For, besides the Beth-luis-nion of the Irish, and the Hebrew alphabet, he (according to these authors) was so provident and obliging, that he invented also the Greek and Roman alphabets, many ages before there were any Greeks or Romans in the world, that they might be lying ready for the use of these nations when they came into being.

Irish alphabet.

being¹²². The Irish, as we are assured by a late writer, were so happy, that they enjoyed the use of letters from the days of this famous Finiufa, the great-grandson of Japhet, the son of Noah, down to the present times¹²³: a singular honour and felicity, to which no other nation in the world hath had the confidence to pretend. There are other writers indeed, who endeavour to deprive the Irish nation of this distinguished honour, by affirming that they are indebted to their great apostle St. Patrick for the knowledge of letters, as well as of Christianity; and that their Beth-luis-nion is nothing else but the Roman alphabet a little changed in the number, order, and form of the letters¹²⁴. “Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.” Every reader may judge for himself which of these two opinions is most probable, and few, we presume, will form a wrong judgment.

Lan-
guages.

For several ages past, the study of certain dead languages, as the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which are only to be found in books, hath constituted a very important and essential part of a learned education; and in the acquisition of these languages, the studious youth of Europe now spend some of the most valuable years of their lives. But nothing of this nature employed any part of the thoughts or time of the

¹²² Flaherty's *Ogygia Domestica*, p. 221.

¹²³ Dr. Parson's *Remains of Japhet*, p. 151.

¹²⁴ *Acta Sanctorum Bollandi*, l. 2. Nat. ad vitam S. Patricii. Innes's critical Essay, p. 442.

learned

learned and studious among the ancient Britons, who certainly derived their knowledge more from men than from Books, from conversation than from reading. If any of them studied or understood any other languages besides their native tongue, these were certainly the Greek and Latin, which were then living languages; the one spoken by the instructors, and the other by the conquerors of the world. Some writers have been of opinion that the Druids of Gaul and Britain understood and spoke the Greek language as well as they did their own¹²⁵. But this opinion doth not appear to be well founded. It is true, indeed, that the people of Marseilles, who were originally Greeks, were very famous in these times for their knowledge of languages, as well as of other parts of learning. They were called the three-tongued, because they understood three languages, the Greek. Latin, and Gaulish¹²⁶. Those Gauls, therefore, who had their education in that city, which was then esteemed another Athens, no doubt acquired the knowledge of the Greek language. Lucian seems to have met with one of these, who was a Gaulish priest or Druid, who understood Greek, and explained to him the picture of Ogmius, the god of eloquence, already mentioned¹²⁷. But the number of the Gauls who were educated at

¹²⁵ Sherringham, p. 390. Hottoman. Franco Gallia, c. 2.

¹²⁶ Opera Sti Hieronymi, l. 9. p. 135.

¹²⁷ Lucian in Hercule Gallico.

Marseilles,

Marfeilles, bore a very small proportion to the whole body of that people: and it appears very plainly, that in Julius Cæsar's time the knowledge of the Greek tongue was a very rare and uncommon accomplishment among the learned in Gaul. Divitiacus the Æduan was both a prince and a Druid, and (according to the testimony of Cicero, who was familiarly acquainted with him) one of the most learned men of his country; and yet it is evident, that he neither understood Latin or Greek ¹²⁸. For Cæsar, who was a perfect master of both of these languages, could not converse with him without an interpreter. ¹²⁹. Nay, when Quintus Cicero was besieged in his camp in the country of the Nervii, a people of Gaul, Cæsar wrote a letter to him in the Greek language, that if it should be intercepted by the enemy, it might not be understood ¹³⁰: a demonstration that Cæsar believed there were few or none of the Nervii who understood Greek, though some of them might perhaps understand Latin. The Nervii were indeed situated in the northern extremity of Gaul, at a prodigious distance from Marfeilles; and therefore the knowledge of the Greek tongue might be much more uncommon among them than among the Gauls of the south, who were nearer to that illustrious seat of learning ¹³¹.

¹²⁸ Cicero de Divinatione, l. 1.

¹²⁹ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1. c. 12.

¹³⁰ Id. ibid. l. 5. c. 19.

¹³¹ Cluverius, l. 2. p. 430.

But may we not for the same reason conclude, that the knowledge of the Greek language was far from being a common accomplishment among the learned of this island? The Latin language was probably still less understood in Britain than the Greek, before the Roman conquest.

If the British Druids, considering the times in which they lived, had made no contemptible proficiency in several parts of real and useful learning; it cannot be denied that they were also great pretenders to superior knowledge in certain vain fallacious sciences, by which they excited the admiration, and took advantage of the ignorance and credulity of mankind. These were the sciences (if they may be so called) of magic and divination; by which they pretended to work a kind of miracles, and exhibit astonishing appearances in nature; to penetrate into the counsels of Heaven; to foretel future events, and to discover the success or miscarriage of public or private undertakings. Their own countrymen not only believed that the Druids of Gaul and Britain were possessed of these powers, but they were celebrated on this account, by the philosophers of Greece and Rome. "In Britain (says Pliny) the magic arts are "cultivated with such astonishing success and "so many ceremonies at this day, that the Britons seem to be capable of instructing even "the Persians themselves in these arts"¹³². They

Druidical
magic and
divination.

¹³² Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

"pretend

“pretend to discover the designs and purposes
 “of the Gods¹³². The Eubates or Vates in
 “particular, investigate and display the most
 “sublime secrets of nature; and by auspices
 “and sacrifices, they foretel future events¹³⁴.”

They were so famous for the supposed veracity of their predictions, that they were not only consulted on all important occasions by their own princes and great men, but even sometimes by the Roman emperors¹³⁵. Nor is it very difficult to account for all this. The Druids finding that the reputation of their magical and prophetic powers contributed not a little to the advancement of their wealth and influence, endeavoured, no doubt, to strengthen and establish it by all their art and cunning. Their knowledge of natural philosophy and mechanics enabled them to execute such works, and to exhibit such appearances, or to make the world believe that they did exhibit them, as were sufficient to gain them the character of great magicians. The truth is, that nothing is more easy than to acquire this character in a dark age, and among an unenlightened people. When the minds of men are haunted with dreams of charms and enchantments, they are apt to fancy that the most common occurrences in nature are the effects of magical arts. The following

¹³² Mela. l. 3. c. 2.

¹³³ Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 9. v. 1. p. 354.

¹³⁴ Lamprid. in Alexand. Vopisc. in Aurelian. & Numerian.

strange story, which we meet with in Plutarch's
 Treatise of the Cessation of Oracles, was prob-
 ably occasioned by something of this kind.
 " There are many islands which lie scattered
 " about the isle of Britain, after the manner of
 " our Sporades. They are generally unpeopled,
 " and some of them are called the Islands of
 " the heroes. One Demetrius was sent by
 " the emperor (perhaps Claudius) to discover
 " those parts. He arrived at one of these islands
 " (supposed by some to be Anglesey, but more
 " probably one of the Æbudæ) next adjoining
 " to the isle of Britain before mentioned, which
 " was inhabited by a few Britons who were
 " esteemed sacred and inviolable by their coun-
 " trymen. Immediately after his arrival the air
 " grew black and troubled, and strange appar-
 " tions were seen ; the winds rose to a tempest
 " and fiery spots and whirlwinds appeared
 " dancing towards the earth¹³⁵." This was
 probably no more than a storm of wind, ac-
 companied with rain and lightning ; a thing neither
 unnatural nor uncommon : but Demetrius and
 his companions having heard that the British
 Druids, by whom this isle was chiefly in-
 habited, were great magicians, they imagined
 that it was raised by them ; and fancied that
 they saw many strange unnatural sights. The
 Druids did not think proper to undeceive them ;
 for when they enquired of them about the cause

¹³⁵ Plutarch. de Cessat. Orac. Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 74:

of this storm, they told them it was occasioned by the death of one of those invifible beings or genii who frequented their ifle ¹³⁶. A wonderful and artful tale, very well calculated to increafe the fuperftitious terrors of Demetrius and his crew; and to determine them to abandon this enchanted ifle, with a refolution never to return. Stonehenge, and feveral other works of the Druids, were believed to have been executed by the arts of magic and enchantment, for many ages after the deftruction of their whole order ¹³⁷: nor is it improbable that they perfuaded the vulgar in their own times to entertain the fame opinion of thefe works, by concealing from them the real arts by which they were performed. The natural and acquired fagacity of the Druids, their long experience, and great concern in the conduct of affairs, enabled them to form very probable conjectures about the events of enterprifes. Thefe conjectures they pronounced as oracles, when they were confulted, and they pretended to derive them from the infpection of the entrails of victims; the obfervation of the flight and feeding of certain birds; and many other mummeries ¹³⁸. By thefe and the like arts, they obtained and preferved the reputation of prophetic foresight among an ignorant and credulous people. But thefe pre-

¹³⁶ Plutarch. de Ceflat. Orac.

¹³⁷ Keyfler. Antiq. Septent. c. 7. § i. p. 228. Galfiid. Monumut. b. 8. c. 11, 12.

¹³⁸ Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 138. to 142.

tensions of the Druids to magic and divination, which contributed so much to the advancement of their fame and fortune in their own times, have brought very heavy reproaches upon their memory, and have made some learned moderns declare that they ought to be expunged out of the catalogue of philosophers, and esteemed no better than mere cheats and jugglers¹³⁹. This censure is evidently too severe, and might have been pronounced with equal justice upon all the ancient philosophers of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome; who were great pretenders to magic and divination, as well as our Druids¹⁴⁰.

“ I know of no nation in the world (says Cicero) either so polite and learned, or so savage and barbarous, as not to believe that future events are presignified to us, and may by some men be discovered and foretold¹⁴¹.”

The only conclusion therefore that can be fairly drawn, from the successful pretensions of the British Druids to the arts of magic and divination, is this—That they had more knowledge than their countrymen and contemporaries; but had not so much virtue as to resist the temptation of imposing upon their ignorance, to their own advantage.

If we have but an imperfect knowledge of the state of learning among the ancient Britons before they were invaded by the Romans, our

Personal
history of
learned
men.

¹³⁹ Brukeri Hist. Crit. Philosoph. l. 1. p. 342.

¹⁴⁰ Vide Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

¹⁴¹ Cicero de Divinat. l. 1. init.

knowledge of the personal history of the learned men who flourished in this island at and before that period, is still more imperfect. For though there might be many who were famous in their several ages for their genius and erudition, yet as none of these committed any of their works to writing, which is the only monument that can resist the depredations of time, not only their learned labours, but their very names, have been long since consigned to irretrievable oblivion. It would not indeed be difficult to fill many pages, from the writings of Leland, Bale, and Pits, with the lives of many learned Britons who are said by them to have flourished long before and about the time of the Roman invasion¹⁴². But this would be to fill the pages of history with the most childish and improbable legends, instead of real and important facts. To convince our readers that this stricture is not too severe, it will be sufficient to give the following curious account of Perdix or Partridge the prophet, one of these ancient British sages, who, according to these writers, prophesied in Britain in the year 760 before Christ, at the same time that Isaiah prophesied in Judea. “ Perdix or
 “ Partridge, a British prophet, who, excelling
 “ in genius and learning, particularly in ma-
 “ thematics, by his example roused the indo-
 “ lent minds of others to the pursuit of the

¹⁴² Vide Leland. de Script. Britan. 2. tom. Oxon. 1709. Bale Catalog. Scriptor. illust. Britan. folio, Basilæ apud Joannem Opelinum. Pits.

“ same studies. By his curious and constant ob-
“ servation of the stars he became a famous
“ prophet and prognosticator. In his time,
“ about the year of the world 3198, it rained
“ blood in Britain three whole days, which pro-
“ duced such prodigious swarms of flies that
“ they occasioned a great mortality. As king
“ Rivallo was offering sacrifices in the temple
“ of Diana, according to the manner of these
“ times, Partridge came in, and not only ex-
“ plained the causes of the present calamities,
“ but also pronounced a prophecy of many fu-
“ ture events. The king commanded this pro-
“ phecy to be engraved on a large block of
“ marble, and placed in the same temple, for
“ its preservation. Gildas, a most noble poet
“ and historiographer among the Britons, found
“ this inscription written in very old language,
“ and translated it into elegant Latin verse¹⁴³.”
“ O! (cries Leland) that I had the happiness to
“ read and understand that most venerable in-
“ scription! that I might know what were the
“ letters, and what was the language of the
“ most ancient Britons. But if that is too great
“ felicity, O! that I could get a sight of the
“ verses of Gildas¹⁴⁴.” Such is the astonishing
credulity of some of our most renowned anti-
quaries! But even this is not the most ridiculous
part of this story. For these illustrious lights of

¹⁴³ Balei Catalog. Script. illust. Brit. p. 11.

¹⁴⁴ Leland. de Script. Brit. l. 1. p. 16.

antiquity cannot agree among themselves, whether this famous British poet was a man or a bird. Ponticus Verunnus affirms that it was a real partridge, of a large size and most beautiful plumage, that flew into the temple and pronounced this prophecy. But in this Leland and Bale say he was most abominably mistaken¹⁴⁵. What puny modern antiquary will take upon him to determine this important dispute?

Abaris.

One of our most industrious historians hath taken very great pains to prove, that Abaris, the famous Hyperborean philosopher, the disciple and friend of Pythagoras, was a native of Britain, or one of the British isles¹⁴⁶. To such of our readers as are convinced of this by the arguments of that writer, a short abstract of the life of this extraordinary person will not be disagreeable. Abaris flourished about 600 years before the beginning of the Christian æra. He was a native of the Hyperborean island, which is described by Diodorus Siculus, and greatly admired by his countrymen, who sent him as their ambassador into Greece, to renew their ancient friendship and intercourse with the people of Delos, which had been interrupted¹⁴⁷. Abaris performed this long voyage with great ease and expedition, being carried over rivers, seas and mountains, through the air, on an enchanted

¹⁴⁵ Leland de Script. Brit. l. 1. p. 16. Balei Catalog. Script. illust. Brit. p. 11.

¹⁴⁶ Carte's Gen. Hist. Eng. v. 1. p. 52, &c.

¹⁴⁷ Diod. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1. p. 159.

arrow,

arrow, which he had received as a present from Apollo¹⁴³. By this enchanted arrow we ought perhaps, to understand his skill in astronomy, by which he directed his course. When he arrived in Greece, he gained the esteem and admiration of the learned men of that country, by his politeness, eloquence, and wisdom¹⁴⁹. He excelled particularly in the arts of magic and divination; of which he gave the most illustrious proofs in all the countries through which he travelled¹⁵⁰. It was this Abaris who made the famous Palladium of the bones of Pelops, and sold it to the people of Troy¹⁵¹. After he had visited many countries, and collected a great quantity of gold, he set out on his return home; and in his way waited on Pythagoras at Crotona in Italy. This renowned philosopher was so much charmed with Abaris, that he admitted him to his most intimate friendship; shewed him his golden thigh; revealed to him all the secrets of his philosophy, and persuaded him to stay with him and assist him in his school¹⁵².

These two examples will probably be sufficient to convince our readers, that the genuine personal history of those learned men who flourished in this island before they began to com-

¹⁴³ Jamblic. vita Pythagor. p. 128.

¹⁴⁹ Strabo, l. 7. p. 301.

¹⁵⁰ Jamblic. c. 19. p. 131.

¹⁵¹ Diction. Hist. de M. Bayle, v. Abaris. Note F.

¹⁵² Stanley's Hist. Philosoph. p. 513, 514.

mit their works to writing, is irrecoverably lost ; and that those who pretend to give us some scraps of this history entertain us with fables instead of facts.

Seminaries
of learn-
ing.

It is impossible that learning can flourish, in any degree, in any country, without schools and academies for the education of youth, provided with proper teachers, and under proper regulations. We may therefore conclude in general, that the ancient Britons had such schools and seminaries of learning among them, before they were conquered by the Romans. Of this we have also sufficient positive evidence in the Greek and Roman writers, and information of several particulars relating to the constitution and circumstances of these most ancient academies, both in Gaul and Britain. It appears from these writers, that these schools of learning were wholly under the direction of the Druids, who were the only governors and teachers in them, to whose care the education of youth was entirely committed. These Druidical academies, particularly those of Britain, were very much crowded with students ; as many of the youth of Gaul came over to finish their education in this island ¹⁵³. The students, as well as teachers, were exempted from military services and from taxes ; and enjoyed many other privileges, which contributed not a little to increase their number ¹⁵⁴. The academies of the Druids, like their

¹⁵³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

¹⁵⁴ Id. ibid.

temples,

temples, were situated in the deepest recesses of woods and forests ¹⁵⁵. They made choice of such situations, not only because they were most proper for study and contemplation, but chiefly because they were most suitable to that profound secrecy with which they instructed their pupils, and kept their doctrines from the knowledge of others ¹⁵⁶. It seems indeed probable, that wherever the Druids had a temple of any great note, attended by a considerable number of priests, there they had also an academy, in which such of those priests as were esteemed most learned were appointed to teach. The greatest of these ancient British academies, it is believed, was in the isle of Anglesey, near the mansion of the Arch-druid, who had the chief direction in matters of learning as well as of religion ¹⁵⁷. Here there is one place which is still called Myfyrion, i. e. the place of studies; another called Caer-Edris, the city of astronomers; and another Cerrig Brudyn, the astronomer's circle ¹⁵⁸. The story of king Bladud, who is said to have flourished about 900 years before the birth of Christ, to have studied long at Athens, and after his return to have established a famous university at Stamford, is evidently legendary, and merits no regard ¹⁵⁹. This ridiculous story is thus told by the old rhiming historian Harding ¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁵ Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Rowland's *Mona Antiq.* p. 84.

¹⁵⁸ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Baleus *Script. Brit.* p. 11.

¹⁶⁰ Harding's *Chron.* London, 1543. c. 27. fol. 23.

Stanford he made, the Stanford hight this day,
 In which he made an Univerfitee.
 His philosophers, as Merlin doth faye,
 Had Scholers fele, of great habilitée,
 Studying ever alway in unitee,
 In all the seven liberal fciēce
 For to purchase wyfdome and fapience.

This fine tale was probably invented and propagated by those masters and scholars who abandoned Oxford, and endeavoured to establish an university at Stamford, in the reign of Edward III.¹⁶¹ No greater regard is due to the monkish legend of the two universities founded by Brutus the Trojan, near the place where the truly famous university of Oxford now stands; which is thus related by John Rouse, the Warwick antiquary: "Our chronicles say that some
 "very learned men came out of Greece into
 "Britain with king Brutus, and made choice
 "of a place, which from them is still called
 "Greeklade, where they dwelt, and established
 "an university. Among these learned Greeks,
 "there were some who excelled in the know-
 "ledge of medicine, who took up their resi-
 "dence, and fixed their physical school at a
 "very healthy place not far distant, which from
 "them is still called Leechlade¹⁶²." These schools, we are gravely told by the same antiquary, were some time after removed to the

¹⁶¹ A. Wood's Hist. Univerf. Oxon. p. 165, &c.

¹⁶² J. Roslii Hist. Ang. A. Tho. Hearne, edit. Oxon. p. 20.

place where Oxford now stands, as being a more commodious and pleasant situation ¹⁶³.

But though we cannot now discover the particular places where these most ancient seminaries of learning were seated, we are not altogether so ignorant of their constitution, and of the manner in which the sciences were taught in them. The professors delivered all their lectures to their pupils in verse. This practice may appear singular and difficult to us, but it was easy and familiar in those poetic ages, when prose was hardly ever used but in common conversation, on the lowest subjects. A Druidical course of education, comprehending the whole circle of the sciences which were then taught, is said to have consisted of about twenty thousand verses ¹⁶⁴. The kind of verse in which it is imagined the Druids delivered their doctrines to their scholars, was that which is called by the Welsh grammarians *Englyn Milur*, of which the following lines are a short specimen :

Manner of
teaching in
these semi-
naries.

An lavar koth yu lavar guir
Bedh durn rê ver, dhan tavaz rêhîr
Mez dén heb davaz a gallaz i dâr.
What's said of old will always stand :
Too long a tongue, too short a hand ;
But he that had no tongue lost his land ¹⁶⁵.

The scholars were not allowed to commit any of these verses to writing, but were obliged to

¹⁶³ J. Rossii Hitt. Ang. A. Tho. Hearne, edit. Oxon. p. 21.

¹⁶⁴ Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 85. La Religion de Gaul,

l. 3. p. 59.

¹⁶⁵ Lhuyd's Archæologia Britannica, p. 251.

get them all by heart ¹⁶⁶. This mode of education was far from being peculiar to the Druids of Gaul and Britain, but seems to have prevailed in all the nations of antiquity, even after the invention of letters ¹⁶⁷. For even that most wonderful and useful invention was not brought into common use without much opposition, and many specious reasonings against it ¹⁶⁸. Such is the attachment of mankind to their ancient customs, and their shyness to embrace the most valuable new inventions! This practice of committing every thing to memory made a learned education very tedious; and those who went through a complete course commonly spent about twenty years in the academy ¹⁶⁹. When the youth were first admitted into these ancient seats of learning, they were obliged to take an oath of secrecy; in which they solemnly swore, never to reveal the mysteries which they should there learn ¹⁷⁰. They were then also taken entirely out of the hands of their parents and friends, obliged to constant residence, and not permitted to converse with any but their teachers and fellow-students, until they were regularly dismissed ¹⁷¹. One lesson which the Druids inculcated very much upon all their pupils, was a supreme veneration

¹⁶⁶ Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Corn. p. 84. atque auctor. ibi citat.

¹⁶⁸ Bulæi Hist. Univers. Paris. l. 1. p. 8.

¹⁶⁹ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

¹⁷⁰ Bulæus, l. 1. p. 8.

¹⁷¹ Golut. Axiom. de Druid. ax. 28.

for the persons and opinions of their teachers; which being deeply impressed upon their minds in their youth, never was obliterated¹⁷². This circumstance contributed not a little to support the power and influence of the Druids; as all the principal persons in every state were educated in their academies, where they imbibed a high opinion of the dignity and wisdom of their instructors. We cannot now discover what particular emoluments or rewards the Druids received for their care of the education of youth, or whether they received these rewards from the public, or from their scholars. But in general we may conclude, that, as this province was entirely in their hands, the advantages they derived from it were very considerable.

Though the above account of the state of learning among the ancient Britons before they were conquered by the Romans, is not so particular and satisfactory as we could have wished to make it, if history had afforded clearer lights; yet it is evidently sufficient to shew that our British ancestors did not wholly neglect the improvement of their minds, and the cultivation of the sciences; and consequently that they did not deserve that contempt with which they have been treated by some of our own historians, nor the odious names of savages and barbarians, which have been so liberally bestowed on them, as well as on other nations, by the supercilious literati of

Learning
of the an-
cient Bri-
tons not
contempt-
ible.

¹⁷² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

Greece and Rome. It plainly appears that many of the youth of Britain were animated with the love of learning, and a taste for study, before their country was subdued by the Romans; and that this victorious people only put them under the direction of new masters, and gave a new turn to their studies, which we shall now endeavour to describe in as few words as possible.

State of
learning in
Britain
after the
Roman
conquest

The famous Julius Agricola (who was advanced to the government of Britain, A. D. 78.) was the first of the Roman governors of this island, who gave any considerable attention to the concerns of learning. This illustrious person being not only one of the greatest generals but also one of the best and most learned men of the age in which he lived, took great pains to reconcile the provincial Britons to the Roman government, by introducing amongst them the Roman arts and sciences. With this view he persuaded the noble youth of Britain to learn the Latin language, and to apply to the study of the Roman eloquence¹⁷³. These persuasions were successful, because they were seasonable; and the British youth being deprived of their former instructors, by the destruction and expulsion of the Druids (which happened about this time), willingly put themselves under those teachers which were provided for them by the Romans. These youth applied with so much ardour to this new course of study, that they obliged Agricola

¹⁷³ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

very soon to declare that they excelled the youth of Gaul in genius and erudition ¹⁷⁴. This declaration of so great a man was no doubt very flattering to these noble and ingenious youths, and contributed not a little to increase their love of the Roman learning.

Though it is not necessary to give a minute detail of the state of learning among the Romans at this period, as that belongs more properly to the Roman ¹⁷⁵ than to the British history, yet it is certainly requisite to take a little notice of those particular sciences, which that victorious and intelligent people chiefly encouraged, in all the provinces of their empire, and particularly in Britain. These were grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, medicine, and law.

The Romans were at great pains to introduce the study and use of their own language into all the provinces of their empire. The study of this language was warmly recommended to the youth of Britain by the Roman governors of this island, who took care to provide them with masters to teach them to read, write, and speak it, at the public charge. At first these youth discovered a great dislike of the language, as well as to the persons of their conquerors; but by degrees they were brought to apply to the study of it with

Latin and
Greek lan-
guages.

¹⁷⁴ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

¹⁷⁵ Vide Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 3. de Medicis & Profess-
ribus. Id. l. 14. tit. 11. de Studiis Liberalibus Urbis Romæ et Con-
stant. Lugduni, A. D. 1605.

uncommon diligence and success¹⁷⁶. At length the knowledge of the Latin grammar became one of the first and most indispensable branches of a liberal education; and that language was so generally understood and spoken in this island, “that (to use an expression of Gildas, the most “ancient of our historians) Britain might then “have been more properly called a Roman than “a British island¹⁷⁷.” The Greek tongue was still more universal than the Latin in this period; as it was almost the vernacular language of the eastern empire, and understood by all the literati of the West. This most beautiful and copious language was much admired and studied in this period, in all the provinces of the western empire; and all the chief cities of these provinces were provided with a competent number of Greek grammarians to instruct their youth in this branch of learning¹⁷⁸. To this universal taste which then prevailed in the most remote provinces of the Roman empire, for the study of the languages and learning of Greece and Rome, Juvenal plainly alludes in the following line:

Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas¹⁷⁹.

Eloquence.

Eloquence had long been the favourite study of the Greeks and Romans. While these illustrious nations enjoyed their liberties, their greatest orators were esteemed the greatest men, had the

¹⁷⁶ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

¹⁷⁷ Gildæ Hist. Brit. init.

¹⁷⁸ Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 3. leg. 11. p. 49.

¹⁷⁹ Juvenal, sat. 15. v. 109.

chief sway in all their public counsels, and were advanced to the highest honours in their respective states. Nay, so strong and prevalent was this taste for eloquence in the Romans, that it even survived their freedom, and operated very vigorously for several ages under the imperial government¹⁸⁰. Their governors encouraged the study of rhetoric in all the provinces of their empire; and in particular we find that Agricola warmly recommended this to the noble youth of Britain¹⁸¹. These young men observing the high esteem in which orators were held by their conquerors, and that eloquence was the most effectual means of obtaining favour and preferment, they applied to the study and acquisition of it with great eagerness¹⁸². This study became so universally fashionable in this period, that it afforded one of the satirical writers of these times a pretence for saying,

*De conducendo loquitur jam rhetorē Thule*¹⁸³.

The introduction of the Christian religion into this island, in this period, contributed not a little to promote the study of the languages and of rhetoric, as well as of some other parts of learning. For though many of the first preachers of the gospel, both in Britain and in other countries, abounded more in zeal and piety, and perhaps in extraordinary gifts, than in human learning,

¹⁸⁰ Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 14. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 139.

¹⁸¹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

¹⁸² Id. ibid.

¹⁸³ Juvenal. Sat. 15. v. 111.

yet when these extraordinary gifts were withdrawn, it became necessary for them to apply to the study of languages and of some other sciences. As the New Testament was written in Greek, some knowledge of that tongue in particular became necessary to all those Christians who desired to be acquainted with the genuine principles of their religion. Besides this, it was not long before Christianity began to be attacked, in all parts of the world, by the eloquence of rhetoricians, and the reasonings of philosophers, which made it necessary for the ministers of that religion to make themselves masters of those weapons, in order to employ them in its defence. Nay, those unhappy disputes and controversies which arose very early among Christians themselves, about the tenets of their religion, though they were attended with many bad effects, were productive of this good one, that they obliged those who were keenly engaged in them, to cultivate the arts of speaking, writing, and reasoning, in order to defend their favourite opinions.

Philoso-
phy.

As it is not the history of learning in general, but of learning in Great Britain, that we are now investigating, it would be very improper to enter upon a minute enumeration of all the different sects or schools of philosophers among the Greeks and Romans, and of the various tenets of these different schools; since it is certain that some of these were very little, or not at all, known in this island at this period. It is sufficient

sufficient to take notice, that the two chief schools of philosophy were the academic and peripatetic; the former founded by Plato, and the latter by Aristotle¹⁸⁴. The greatest number of succeeding philosophers ranged themselves under the banners of one or other of these illustrious chiefs, and waged perpetual war against each other. At length the fury of this philosophic war was in some degree abated by the institution of a new sect of philosophers, and a new system of philosophy, which was called the eclectic. This mode of philosophizing had its beginning in the famous schools of Alexandria, about the end of the second century, and in a little time spread into all the provinces of the Roman empire. The distinguishing characteristic of these new philosophers was this, that they did not embrace the systems either of Plato or Aristotle, or of any of the other great philosophers who had founded sects, but selected out of all these systems what appeared to them most agreeable to truth. This specious appearance of candour and love of truth gained them many admirers; and it was on this account they were called eclectics, or selectors. But as they professed a peculiar veneration for Plato, and adopted the sentiments of that great philosopher concerning the Deity, the human soul, and invisible objects, they were also called the new Platonists, and their philosophy Reformed Platonism. As this was the most po-

¹⁸⁴ Stanley Hist. Philosoph. p. 155, &c. 351, &c. Bruckeri Hist. Philosoph. tom. 1. p. 627, &c. 776, &c.

pular philosophy in these times, and was particularly embraced by the learned men among the Christians, we have reason to believe that it was the philosophy that was chiefly admired and studied in Britain in this period ¹⁸⁵.

Mathematics.

Some parts of mathematical learning fell into great disgrace, and suffered a kind of proscription, in this period. This was chiefly owing to the gross impositions of certain pretenders to judicial astrology, who called themselves mathematicians; and to the increasing credulity and ignorance of the times, which could not very well distinguish between these impostors and men of real science. This at least is certain that many severe laws were made by the Roman emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries against mathematicians, who were represented as guilty of the same crimes, and are threatened with the same punishments, with magicians and enchanterers ¹⁸⁶.

Medicine.

The study of medicine was long despised and neglected by the Romans, and physic was practised among them chiefly, if not only, by slaves and persons of the lowest rank ¹⁸⁷. But by degrees this very necessary and useful science came to be more regarded, and its professors more respected and encouraged. Under the emperors,

¹⁸⁵ Vide Mosheim. Hist. Eccles. cent. 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹⁸⁶ Vide Cod. Theod. tom. 3. l. 9. tit. 16.

¹⁸⁷ Vide Con. Middleton. de Medicorum apud vet. Rom. Conditione Dissertat. in tom. 4. p. 179.

physicians

physicians were generally of free condition, and on the same respectable footing with other men of learning; many privileges and immunities were conferred upon them by law, and great care was taken to provide professors of medicine, and to encourage the study of it in all the provinces and great cities of the empire¹⁸⁸. As these laws in favour of physicians, and for the encouragement of the study of medicine, extended to Britain as well as to other provinces, many of the British youth were no doubt thereby engaged to apply to the study of that science.

As the Romans established their own govern- Law.
ment, courts of justice, and laws, in all the provinces of their empire, it became necessary for some of the inhabitants of each of these provinces to apply to the study of the Roman laws; that they might be able to explain these laws to their countrymen, and to act as advocates for them in the courts of justice. The provincials were much encouraged in this study by the Romans, who took care to provide proper schools and masters for their instruction¹⁸⁹. It seems to have been a custom in this period, that many of the British youth who applied to the study of the Roman laws, with a view of becoming pleaders, took a journey into Gaul, to finish their education in some of the public schools of that country¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁸ Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 3.

¹⁸⁹ Id. l. 14. tit. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Gallia caufidicos docuit fecunda Britannos.

Juv. Sat. 15. v. 110.

Personal
history of
learned
men.

Though the names, and some parts of the history, of many learned men who flourished in Gaul, in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries are still preserved¹⁹¹, it must be confessed that we know very little of the literati of Britain in these times. This is chiefly owing to the dreadful havoc which was made, first by the Scots and Picts, and afterwards by the Saxons, of the monuments of Roman arts and learning in this island. In these devastations the works, and, together with them, the names and memories of many learned men, undoubtedly perished; and very few of those whose names have been preserved are so well known, or so famous, as to merit a place in the general history of their country.

Sylvius
Bonus,

Sylvius Bonus, or Coil the Good, was a learned Briton who flourished in the fourth century, and was cotemporary with the poet Ausonius, whose indignation he incurred by criticising his works. Ausonius wrote no fewer than six epigrams against Sylvius, in which he reproached him chiefly on account of his country; for the sting of all these epigrams is this, "If Sylvius is good he is not a Briton, or if he is a Briton he is not good; for a Briton cannot be a good man"¹⁹². This violent resentment of Ausonius against the people of Britain was probably

¹⁹¹ Vide Ausonii parentalia, & professores Burdigalensis.

¹⁹² Sylvius hic Bonus est. Quis Sylvius? Iste Britannus.

Aut Brito non est Sylvius, aut malus est.

Auson. Epigram.

excited

excited by their having embraced the party of the usurper Maximus, who at the head of a British army conquered Gaul, and killed the emperor Gratian, who had been the pupil and friend of Ausonius¹⁹³. The odious character of the ancient Britons, which was drawn by Ausonius when his mind was inflamed with these violent political and national animosities, merits no regard. Though it is evident from the testimony of Ausonius that Sylvius was an author, yet his works are entirely lost and unknown; and the catalogue which is given of them by Bale, like many others of the catalogues of that writer, is certainly fictitious¹⁹⁴.

As the Christian religion generally prevailed in Britain, in the flourishing times of the Roman government, we may be certain that many of the ministers of that religion applied to the study of the Roman learning, that they might be the better qualified for illustrating and defending the principles of their religion. But as few or none of the writings of these most ancient fathers of the British church are now extant, and little is said of them in the writings of their contemporaries, we can know but little of their personal history, and of the extent of their erudition. St. Ninian, who was one of the chief instruments of propagating the Christian religion in the northern parts of this island, among the Scots and Picts, was

St. Ninian,
St. Patrick,
Pelagius,
&c.

¹⁹³ Leland. de Scrip. Brit. l. i. p. 32.

¹⁹⁴ Baleus de Illust. Script. Brit. p. 39.

a Briton of noble birth and excellent genius. After he had received as good an education at home as his own country could afford, he travelled for his further improvement, and spent several years at Rome, which was then the chief seat of learning, as well as of empire. From thence he returned into Britain, and spent his life in preaching the gospel in the most uncultivated parts of it, with equal zeal and success¹⁹⁵. St. Patrick, the famous apostle of the Irish, was also a Briton of a good family and ingenious disposition. Having received the first part of his education at home, he travelled into Gaul, and studied a considerable time under the celebrated St. Germanus, bishop of Arles. From thence he went to Rome, where, by the greatness of his learning and sanctity of his manners, he gained the esteem and friendship of Cælestine, then bishop of that city, who advised him to employ his great talents in attempting to civilize and instruct the people of Ireland in the knowledge of the Christian religion. He was not unacquainted with that country, having been taken in his youth by pirates and carried into Ireland, where he spent some years. Having then beheld with compassion the general ignorance of that people, he cheerfully undertook the arduous task of their instruction and conversion¹⁹⁶. In this work he employed the remaining years of his life, and

¹⁹⁵ Baleus de Illust. Script. Brit. p. 42.

¹⁹⁶ Baleus de Illust. Script. Brit. p. 43. Lelandus de Script. Brit. p. 36.

his

his pious and learned labours were crowned with the most astonishing success. But besides these and others who have been enrolled in the catalogue of saints, this island produced some men of learning in this period, who have been stigmatized as the most wicked and pertinacious heretics. Of this number was the famous herefarch Pelagius, whose real name is believed to have been Morgan, of which Pelagius is a translation. He was born in that part of Britain which is now called North Wales, on the 13th of November, A. D. 354, the same day with his great antagonist St. Augustin¹⁹⁷. He received a learned education in his own country, most probably in the great monastery of Banchor near Chester, to the government of which he was advanced, A. D. 404¹⁹⁸. He was long esteemed and loved by St. Jerome and St. Augustin, who kept up a friendly correspondence with him by letters, before they discovered the heretical pravity of his opinions. For Pelagius being a cautious and artful man, for some time vented his peculiar notions as the sentiments of others, without discovering that they were his own¹⁹⁹. At length, however, he threw off the mask, and openly published and defended his doctrines at Rome, about the beginning of the fifth century²⁰⁰. This involved him in many troubles, and drew upon him the indignation of his former friends,

¹⁹⁷ Usserius de Brit. Eccles. primord, p. 207, &c.

¹⁹⁸ Id. ibid. p. 208.

¹⁹⁹ Id. ibid. p. 205.

²⁰⁰ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 10.

St. Jerome and St. Augustin, who wrote against him with great acrimony. He is acknowledged, even by his adversaries, to have been a man of good sense and great learning, and an acute disputant, though they load him with the most bitter reproaches for his abuse of these talents. His personal blemishes are painted in very strong colours, and he is represented by these good fathers, in the heat of their zeal, as a very ugly fellow, “broad shouldered, thick-necked, fat-headed, lame of a leg, and blind of an eye”²⁰¹. Even the most northern parts of this island produced some men of learning in this period. Celestius, the disciple and friend of Pelagius, was a Scotoman, who made a prodigious noise in the world by his writings and disputations about the beginning of the fifth century²⁰². He defended and propagated the peculiar opinions of his master Pelagius, with so much learning, zeal, and success, that those who embraced these opinions were frequently called Celestians²⁰³. Before he became acquainted with these doctrines he wrote several books which were universally admired for their orthodoxy, learning, and virtuous tendency²⁰⁴. After he had spent his youth in his own country in a studious privacy, he travelled for his further improvement to Rome, where he became acquainted with Rufinus and Pelagius, and was by them infected with their

²⁰¹ Usser. de Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 207.

²⁰² Id. p. 208.

²⁰³ St. Augustin. de Heres. c. 88.

²⁰⁴ Gennad. Catalog. Vir. Illust. c. 44.

heresies.

heresies²⁰⁵. From that time he became the most indefatigable and undaunted champion of these heresies, and thereby brought upon himself the indignation of the orthodox fathers of those days, who gave him many very bad names in their writings. St. Jerome, whose commentaries on the Ephesians he had presumed to criticize, calls him “an ignorant, stupid fool, having his belly
“swelled and distended with Scots pottage; a
“great corpulent, barking dog, who was fitter to
“kick with his heels, than to bite with his teeth;
“a Cerberus, who with his master Pluto (Pelagius) deserved to be knocked on the head,
“that they might be put to eternal silence²⁰⁶.”

Such were the flowers of rhetoric which these good fathers employed against the enemies of the orthodox faith! But candour obliges us to observe, that this was perhaps more the vice of the age in which they lived, than of the men. Both Pelagius and Celestius were very great travellers; having visited many different countries of Asia and Africa, as well as Europe, with a view to elude the persecutions of their enemies, and to propagate their opinions²⁰⁷. It is no inconsiderable evidence of their superior learning and abilities, that their opinions gained great ground in all the provinces both of the eastern and western empire, in spite of the writings of many learned fathers and the decrees of many councils against them. “The Pelagian and Celestian heresy

²⁰⁵ Uffer. de Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 205.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 207.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 217.

“ (says

“ (says Photius) not only flourished in great vigour in the West, but was also propagated into the East ²⁰⁸. ”

Seminaries
of learning.

The Romans were at great pains to diffuse the use of their language, and the knowledge of their learning, into all the provinces of their empire. With this view they established schools in all the most proper places of these provinces; in which the youth were taught the Latin language, and sometimes the Greek, and other parts of learning. The Theodosian Code abounds with edicts relating to these schools; regulating the number and qualifications of their professors; the manner in which they were to be chosen; the sciences which they were to teach; the salaries which they were to receive; and the immunities of various kinds which they and their families were to enjoy ²⁰⁹. One of the most remarkable of those edicts is that of the emperor Gratian, which was promulgated A. D. 376; and being directed to the præfect of Gaul, it extended to Britain, which was under his government. By this law all the edicts of former emperors, in favour of these provincial schools, were confirmed and enforced; and the præfect is commanded to establish such schools in all the considerable towns, particularly in all the capitals of the several provinces under his command ²¹⁰. Though we cannot therefore give a detail of the places where

²⁰⁸ Phot. Bibliothec. num. 45.

²⁰⁹ Vide Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 3.

²¹⁰ Ibid, leg. 11.

these Roman schools in this island were seated, the times when they were erected, and other circumstances, yet we have reason to conclude that there was a considerable number of them in it; that some, perhaps the first of them, were established by the famous Agricola, and others by succeeding governors, at different times. In particular, we may almost be certain that there were seminaries of learning established in those times at Lincoln, York, Chester, and Caerleon, which were Roman colonies, and at London, which was a rich and populous city, the capital of Provincial Britain, and probably in several other places. So great a number of illustrious schools, in which the languages and sciences were taught at the public expence, must both have diffused a taste for learning among the people of Britain, and afforded them a favourable opportunity of gratifying that taste.

The Roman provinces in this island were in a very unsettled state from about the middle of the fourth century to their final dissolution, having been often disturbed by internal tumults and usurpations, and frequently harassed on one side by the incursions of the Scots and Picts, and on the other by the depredations of the Saxons²¹¹. In this period, therefore, we may be certain that learning began to decline and languish. But when the Romans took their final farewell of this island, peace, order, civility, and science departed

Decay of
learning in
Britain.

²¹¹ See Chap. I.

with

with them; and this wretched country was soon after plunged into the most deplorable darkness and ignorance, as well as confusion. For the greatest part of the learned men of these times, being either Romans by birth, or encouraged and protected by them, they accompanied their countrymen and patrons to the continent; and the few who stayed behind were soon destroyed, or driven from their studies, by the barbarous invaders of their country. In a little time every establishment in favour of learning fell to the ground, and the schools for education were demolished or deserted. The most ancient of our own historians, Gildas, hath drawn a most shocking picture of the ignorance, as well as of the vices of the Christian clergy of Britain in these times. "Britain (saith he) hath priests, but "they are ignorant and foolish, &c."²¹² The great success which Cælestius, Agricola, and the other disciples of Pelagius had in propagating their opinions in this island, was chiefly owing to the general ignorance of the British clergy; who being conscious of their own inability to defend their faith against these adversaries, sent into Gaul, where learning was in a more flourishing state, for assistance in this dispute²¹³. Germanus, who was sent by the bishops of Gaul on this occasion, having defeated the champions of Pelagianism, and banished that heresy out of Britain,

²¹² Gildas Epist. § 2.

²¹³ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

imagining that the revival of learning would be the most effectual means of preventing its return, he established several schools, which he put under the direction of some of his most learned followers²¹⁴. But the history of these new establishments falls more properly within the succeeding period, and will make a part of the fourth chapter of the second book of this work.

²¹⁴ Leland's Collectanea, v. 2. p. 42.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. V.

The history of the arts in Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.

AS artists of various kinds constitute a great body of the citizens of every civilized nation, and by their skill and industry contribute not a little to the wealth and prosperity of the state, as well as to the happiness of all its members, it cannot be inconsistent with the dignity or ends of history to record the invention and progress of the most useful arts, and to preserve the memory of the most ingenious artists. Besides this, a careful investigation of the state of the arts among any people, in any period of their history, is one of the best means of discovering

Import-
ance of the
arts.

their genius, manners, and circumstances in that period. For these reasons, and others which need not be particularly mentioned, the fifth chapter of every book of this work is to contain a brief delineation of the state of the arts in this island, in the period which is the subject of that book.

Division of
the arts
into neces-
sary and
pleasing.

The design of all the arts being either to supply the necessities or promote the pleasures of mankind, they may not improperly be divided into two classes; the one of which may be called that of the necessary, and the other that of the pleasing arts. The necessary arts are those which are employed in providing food, lodging, clothing, and defence, which are necessary to the sustenance and preservation of human life. The pleasing arts are those which cannot be said to be necessary to the support of life, but contribute very much to its happiness, by charming the senses, delighting the imagination, and filling the mind with agreeable feelings of various kinds.

Necessary
arts.

Nothing is so necessary to the preservation of life as a sufficient quantity of food, and therefore the procuring of this hath always been the first object of the art and industry of mankind in all countries. It is indeed true, that there are very few countries in which a small number of human creatures may not sustain a wretched life, without either art or industry, by eating without dressing what the earth produceth without cultivation; and it is not improbable that the first
savage

savage inhabitants of this island, as well as of many other countries, subsisted for some time in this miserable manner¹.

But as the spontaneous productions of the earth in this climate, which are suited to the sustenance of the human body, are not very plentiful, and are in a great measure destroyed in the winter season, the first inhabitants of Britain would soon be under a necessity of looking out for some more abundant and permanent means of subsistence; and could not fail to cast their eyes on the prodigious number of animals of various kinds with which they were surrounded on all hands. Some of these animals excelling men in swiftness, others exceeding them in strength and fierceness, some concealing themselves under water, and others flying up into the air far beyond their reach; it became necessary to invent a multitude of arts, to get these animals into their possession, in order to feed upon them. This gave rise to the arts of hunting, fowling, and fishing, which are, and always have been the most serious employments of savage nations, and the chief means of their subsistence. The ancient Germans, when they were not engaged in war, spent a great part of their time in hunting; and so, no doubt, did the most ancient Britons². Even in the beginning of the third century, all the unconquered

Hunting,
&c.

¹ Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. 1. p. 76, 77.

² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 1.

Britons who dwelt beyond Hadrian's wall, lived chiefly on the prey which they took in hunting³. The poems of Ossian the son of Fingal (who flourished in these parts in that age) abound in descriptions of hunting, which he makes the only business of his heroes in times of peace⁴. It appears also from these poems, that the Britons were not unacquainted with the art of catching birds with hawks trained for that purpose⁵: but they seem to have been absolutely ignorant of the art of catching fish; for there is not so much as one allusion to that art in all the works of that venerable bard. Their ignorance of this art is both confirmed and accounted for by Dio Niceus, who assures us, "That the
 " ancient Britons never tasted fish, though
 " they had innumerable multitudes of them in
 " their seas, lakes, and rivers⁶." By the bye we may observe, that this agreement between the poems of Ossian and the Greek historian, in a circumstance so singular, is at once a proof of the genuine antiquity of these poems; and that the Greek and Roman writers were not so ill informed about the affairs and manners of the ancient Britons as some have imagined.

Pasturage.

Though some of the inhabitants of this island, even after it was invaded by the Romans, lived chiefly by hunting, yet others of them, long be-

³ Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

⁴ See the Poems of Ossian passim.

⁵ Id. the battle of Lora.

⁶ Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Nerone.

fore that period, had either invented themselves, or had been taught by others, a more effectual art of procuring a plentiful supply of animal food. This was the art of pasturage, or of feeding flocks and herds of tame animals. This art or way of life is peculiarly agreeable to a people emerging from the savage state, because it requires no great degree of labour and industry, to which they are averse, and gratifies their roaming unsettled disposition. Pasturage was accordingly the great employment, and the chief means of subsistence of the far greatest part of the inhabitants of this island when it was first invaded by the Romans. Many of the ancient British nations are thought, by some antiquaries, to have derived their names from the pastoral life, and from the particular kinds of cattle which they chiefly tended. “The island of Britain (says Cæsar) abounds in cattle; and the greatest part of those within the country never sow their lands, but live on flesh and milk.” Even in the most northern extremities of Britain, where the people depended most on hunting, they were not altogether destitute of flocks and herds of cattle. But these ancient British shepherds seem to have been ignorant of some of the most useful parts of their art, till they were instructed in them by the Ro-

7 Carte's Hist. Eng. v. 1. p. 108. note.

8 Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 10.

9 Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 31. Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

mans. We have no reason to think that they were acquainted with the art of castrating animals, in order to meliorate their flesh ; and we know from good authority that they were many of them ignorant of the art of making cheese¹⁰. One of the most learned antiquaries thinks it probable that Scribonius, physician to the emperor Claudius, was the first who instructed the Britons in these useful arts¹¹.

Agriculture.

The next step from pasturage in every country hath been to agriculture¹². This most useful of all arts, and the parent of so many others, was not wholly unknown in this island before the Roman invasion, though it is difficult to discover when it was introduced, and how far it had then advanced. Both the Greeks and Phœnicians had visited Britain long before the Romans invaded it ; but as these visits were only transient, and for the sake of trade, it is uncertain whether they took the trouble to instruct the natives in agriculture. It is more probable that the knowledge and practice of this art was brought hither by some of those colonies which came from the coasts of Gaul and settled here. These emigrants having been employed in agriculture in their own country, pursued the same employment in their new settlements. This was the opinion of Cæsar. "The sea-coasts are in-

¹⁰ Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

¹¹ Musgrave *Belgium Britannicum*, p. 47, 48.

¹² *Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*, v. 1. b. 2. p. 85.

“ habited

“habited by colonies from Belgium, which
 “having established themselves in Britain, began
 “to cultivate the soil¹³. Agriculture was perhaps little known in this island till about 150 years before the beginning of the Christian æra, when great multitudes of Celtic Gauls being expelled their native seats between the Rhine and the Seine, by the Belgæ from Germany, took shelter in the south of Britain, where they met with a favourable reception, and formed several small states¹⁴. These states received reinforcements from time to time from the same coasts, whose inhabitants were then called Belgæ, and practised husbandry; a way of life which they were encouraged to pursue in Britain by the fertility of the soil, which produced all kinds of grain in great plenty and perfection¹⁵. If we could depend on the testimony of Jeoffrey of Monmouth, we should be led to think that agriculture had been in great esteem in Britain several ages before the period above mentioned. For that writer acquaints us, that it was declared by one of the laws of Dunwallo Molmutius, (who is said to have reigned over all Britain about five centuries before the birth of Christ,) that the ploughs of the husbandmen, as well as the temples of the gods, should be sanctuaries to such criminals as fled to them for protection¹⁶.

¹³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

¹⁴ Musgrave *Belgium Britannicum*, p. 94.

¹⁵ Tacit. *vita Agric.* c. 12.

¹⁶ Gaulfrid. *Monymut.* b. 2. c. 17.

But this is unquestionably one of the many improbable fables related by that author; and the law to which he alludes was evidently of a much later date. Upon the whole, the truth seems to be, that though agriculture might be practised a little by a few of the more ancient Britons, yet it was chiefly introduced by the Belgic Gauls, about a century before the first Roman invasion, and almost wholly confined to them till after that event.

Manures.

Very few of the peculiar practices of the most ancient British husbandmen are preserved in history. It appears that they were not unacquainted with the use of manures, for renewing and increasing the fertility of their grounds; and that besides those which were common in other countries, they had one peculiar to themselves and the Gauls. This was marle. “The people of Gaul and Britain (says Pliny) have found out another kind of manure for their grounds; which is a fat clay or earth, called marle, of which they entertain a very high opinion¹⁷.” The same writer, after enumerating and describing several different kinds of marle, proceeds thus: “Of those marles which are esteemed the fattest, the white ones are most valuable. Of these there are several kinds. First, that one already described which hath the most sharp and piquant taste. Another kind is the white chalky marle, much used

¹⁷ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 17. c. 6.

“ by silversmiths. For this they are sometimes
 “ obliged to sink shafts one hundred feet deep,
 “ when they find the vein spreading broader,
 “ as in other mines of metals. It is this kind
 “ of marle which is most used in Britain. Its
 “ effects are found to continue eighty years :
 “ and no man was ever yet known to have ma-
 “ nured the same field with this marle twice in
 “ his lifetime ¹⁸.” It is highly probable that
 lime was also used as a manure by the ancient
 Britons ; because we know with certainty that it
 was so used in Gaul, from whence the know-
 ledge of it might easily be brought into Bri-
 tain ¹⁹.

The instruments and methods of ploughing,
 sowing, and reaping in Britain were no doubt
 the same as in Gaul, from whence they were
 brought ; and these probably were not very dif-
 ferent from those which were used in Italy in
 these times, which are so copiously described by
 the Roman writers on agriculture ²⁰. Diodorus
 Siculus hath preserved some remarkable parti-
 culars relating to the manner in which the most
 ancient British husbandmen preserved their corns
 after they were reaped, and prepared them for
 use. “ The Britons, when they have reaped
 “ their corns, by cutting the ears from the
 “ stubble, lay them up for preservation, in sub-
 “ terraneous caves or granaries. From thence,

Imple-
 ments and
 practices.

¹⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 17. c. 8.

¹⁹ Id. *ibid*.

²⁰ Vide Scriptores Rei Rusticæ a Gesnero, edit. Lipsiæ 1735.

“ they

“ they say, in very ancient times, they used to
 “ take a certain quantity of these ears every
 “ day, and having dried and bruised the grains,
 “ made a kind of food of them for immediate
 “ use ²¹”. Though these methods were very
 slovenly and imperfect, they were not peculiar
 to the ancient Britons, but were practised by
 many other nations; and some vestiges of them
 were not long ago remaining in the western isles
 of Scotland. “ The ancient way of dressing
 “ corn, which is still used in several isles, is
 “ called Graddan, from the Irish word Grad,
 “ which signifies quick. A woman sitting down
 “ takes a handful of corn, holding it by the
 “ stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to
 “ the ears, which were presently in a flame;
 “ she has a stick in her right-hand, which she
 “ manages very dexterously, beating off the
 “ grain at the very instant when the husk is
 “ quite burnt, for if she miss of that she must
 “ use the kiln; but experience has taught them
 “ this art to perfection. The corn may be so
 “ dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked within
 “ an hour ²²”.

Agriculture im-
 proved by
 the Ro-
 mans.

As soon as the Romans had obtained a firm
 establishment in Britain, agriculture began to
 be very much improved and extended. This
 was an art in which that renowned people greatly

²¹ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. p. 347. edit. Amstelodam. 1746. Varro de Re Rustica, c. 57.

²² Martin's Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, p. 204.

delighted,

delighted, and which they encouraged in all the provinces of their empire. "When the Romans (says Cato) designed to bestow the highest praise on a good man, they used to say, he understands agriculture well, and is an excellent husbandman; for this was esteemed the greatest and most honourable character, &c.²³" As soon therefore as the Romans had subdued any of the British states, they endeavoured, by various means, to bring their new subjects to cultivate their lands, in order to render their conquest more valuable. The tribute of a certain quantity of corn, which they imposed on these states as they fell under their dominion, obliged the people to apply to agriculture²⁴. The colonies of veterans (who were as expert at guiding the plough as at wielding the sword) which they planted in the most convenient places, set before the native Britons an example both of the methods and advantages of this art. In a word, the Romans, by their power, policy, and example, so effectually reconciled the Britons to the cultivation of their lands, that in a little time this island became one of the most plentiful provinces of the empire, and not only produced a sufficient quantity of corn for the support of its own inhabitants and the Roman troops, but afforded every year a very great surplus for exportation. This

²³ Cato de Re Rustica, Proem.

²⁴ Heineccii Opera, tom. 4. p. 262, 263.

became

became an object of so great importance, that a fleet of ships was provided for this particular service of bringing corn from Britain; and capacious granaries were built on the opposite continent for the reception of that corn; which from thence was conveyed into Germany and other countries, for the use of the Roman armies. “ He also built new granaries (says Ammianus Marcellinus of the emperor Julian) in the room of those which had been burnt by the enemy, into which he might put the corn usually brought from Britain²⁵.” The great number of the ships which were employed by the same emperor, A. D. 359, in bringing corn from this island, must give us a very high idea of the fertility and cultivation of it in these times. “ Having collected prodigious quantities of timber from the woods on the banks of the Rhine, he built a fleet of eight hundred ships, larger than the common barks, which he sent to Britain, to bring corn from thence. When this corn arrived he sent it up the Rhine in boats, and furnished the inhabitants of those towns and countries which had been plundered by the enemy, with a sufficient quantity to support them during the winter, to sow their lands in the spring, and to maintain them till next harvest²⁶.” So great and happy are the effects of well-directed

²⁵ Ammian. Marcellin. l. 18. c. 2. cum Notis Valefii.

²⁶ Zofimi Hist. l. 3.

industry !

industry! To enumerate the many improvements in husbandry which were introduced by the Romans, and produced this amazing plenty, would swell this article beyond all proportion. They may be seen at large in the writers quoted below ²⁷.

The far greatest part of the ancient Britons were as ignorant of gardening as of husbandry, before they were subdued and instructed by the Romans. "The people of Britain (says Strabo) are generally ignorant of the art of cultivating gardens, as well as of other parts of agriculture ²⁸." Like the ancient Germans, they made use of herbs and fruits, but they were such as grew in the fields and woods without cultivation. But no sooner were the Romans settled in Britain than they began to plant orchards and cultivate gardens, and found by experience, "That the soil and climate were very fit for all kinds of fruit-trees, except the vine and the olive; and for all plants and vegetables, except a few which were peculiar to hotter countries ²⁹." In a little time, when they became better acquainted with the country, they even found that some parts of it were not unfit for vineyards, and obtained permission from the emperor Probus to plant vines and make wine in Britain, about A. D. 278. ³⁰ In a word

Garden-
ing.

²⁷ *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ veteres Latini a Gesnero, edit. Lipsiæ, A. D. 1735, 2 tom. quarto.*

²⁸ Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

²⁹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

³⁰ *Scriptores Hist. August. p. 942.*

the

the Romans practised themselves, and instructed their British subjects in all the branches of agriculture, and in every art which was then known in the world, for making the earth yield her most precious gifts in the greatest abundance, for the support and comfort of human life. We have even reason to believe that provincial Britain was better cultivated, and in all respects a more plentiful and pleasant country while it was under the dominion of the Romans, than it was at any time for more than a thousand years after their departure. So beneficial, in some respects, it may sometimes prove to a people who are but just emerging from the savage state, to be brought under the dominion of a more enlightened nation, when that nation hath the wisdom and humanity to protect, to polish, and instruct, instead of destroying, the people whom it hath subdued!

Gradual
progress of
agricul-
ture.

We have sufficient evidence that the knowledge of agriculture, and indeed of all the other arts, entered Britain at the south-east corner, and travelled by slow and gradual steps towards the north-west; but it is very difficult to trace the progress of these arts, or to discover how far they had advanced in this period. With regard to agriculture we are assured by a contemporary and well-informed author, that it had advanced no farther than the wall of Hadrian in the beginning of the third century. For when the emperor Severus invaded Caledonia, A. D. 207, we are told, "That the Maeratae

" and

“ and Caledonians (who possessed all the island
 “ beyond the wall of Hadrian) inhabited bar-
 “ ren uncultivated mountains, or desert marshy
 “ plains ; that they had neither walls, towns,
 “ nor cultivated lands ; but lived on the flesh
 “ and milk of their flocks and herds, on what
 “ they got by plunder, or caught by hunting,
 “ and on the fruits of trees³¹.” The *Maæatæ*
 and Caledonians having been obliged by Severus
 to yield up a part of their country to the Ro-
 mans, that industrious people, in the course of
 the third century, built several towns and sta-
 tions, constructed highways, cut down woods,
 drained marshes, and introduced agriculture into
 the country between the walls, many parts of
 which are very level, fertile, and fit for tillage³².
 Though the Romans never formed any large or
 lasting establishments to the north of the wall
 between the Forth and Clyde, yet many of
 them, and of the provincial Britons, retired into
 Caledonia at different times and on various ac-
 counts, particularly about the end of the third
 century, to escape from the Dioclesian perfec-
 tion. It is therefore highly probable that these
 refugees instructed the people among whom they
 settled, not only in their religion, but also in
 their arts, particularly agriculture. The eastern
 coasts of Caledonia were remarkably fit for cul-
 tivation, and the Picts who inhabited these coasts
 were very early acquainted with agriculture,

³¹ Xiphilin. ex Dio. Nicæo in Sever.

³² Id. *ibid*.

which

which they undoubtedly learned from the Romans or the provincial Britons. The name which was given to the Caledonians of the east by those of the West was Cruitnich, which signifies wheat or corn eaters; a proof that they were husbandmen³³. We have even some reason to believe, that the Caledonians of the West (who in the fourth century began to be called Scots), though they were of a more restless and wandering disposition than those of the east, and their country more mountainous, and not so fit for cultivation, were not altogether ignorant of agriculture in this period. For St. Jerome reproaches Celestius, who was a Scotsman, "That his belly was swelled or distended with Scots pottage or hasty-pudding³⁴." This is at least a proof that in the beginning of the fifth century the Scots, or western Caledonians, lived partly upon meal; a kind of food to which they had been absolute strangers about two hundred years before, when they were invaded by the emperor Severus.

Britons as ignorant of architecture as of agriculture.

In those very ancient times, when the first inhabitants of this island were ignorant of agriculture, they were no less ignorant of architecture; and as they had no better food than the spontaneous productions of the earth, or the animals which they took in hunting, so they had no better lodgings than thickets, dens, and

³³ Works of Ossian, v. 1. Dissert. p. 5.

³⁴ St. Hieron. Comment. in Jeremiah.

caves. This appears to have been the state of many other ancient nations, as well as of the ancient Britons³⁵. Some of these caves, which were their winter-habitations and places of retreat in time of war, were formed and rendered secure and warm by art, like those of the ancient Germans, which are thus described by Tacitus: “They are used to dig deep caves in the
 “ground and cover them with earth, where they
 “lay up their provisions, and dwell in winter
 “for the sake of warmth. Into those they re-
 “tire also from their enemies, who plunder the
 “open country, but cannot discover these sub-
 “terraneous recesses³⁶.” Some of these subterraneous, or earth-houses, as they are called, are still remaining in the western isles of Scotland and in Cornwall³⁷. The summer habitations of the most ancient Britons were very slight; and, like those of the Fennians, consisted only of a few stakes driven into the ground, interwoven with wattles, and covered over with the boughs of trees³⁸.

35 Tum primum subiere domos. Domus antra fuerunt;
 Et densæ frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.

Ovid. Metam. l. 1.

Credo pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
 In terris, visamque diu; cum frigida parvas
 Præberet spelunca domos.

Juv. Sat. 6.

36 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 16.

37 Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 154. Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Corn. p. 292, 293.

38 Tacit. de morib. German. c. 46.

Houses of
the Bri-
tons.

When Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, the inhabitants of Cantium (Kent), and of some other parts in the South, had learned to build houses a little more substantial and convenient. "The country (says Cæsar) abounds in houses, which very much resemble those of Gaul³⁹." The first step towards this improvement seems to have been that of daubing the wattled walls of their houses with clay, to fill up the chinks and make them warmer. "The Germans used for this purpose a kind of pure resplendent earth of different colours, which had an appearance of painting at a distance⁴⁰;" but the Gauls and Britons chose rather to whitewash the clay after it was dry with chalk⁴¹. Instead of the boughs of trees, they thatched these houses with straw, as a much better security against the weather. They next proceeded to form the walls of large beams of wood, instead of stakes and wattles. This seems to have been the mode of building in Britain, when it was first invaded by the Romans. "The Britons (says Diodorus Siculus, who was cotemporary with Cæsar) dwell in wretched cottages, which are constructed of wood, covered with straw⁴²." These wooden houses of the ancient Gauls and Britons were not square but circular, with high tapering roofs, at the top or centre of which was an aperture for the

³⁹ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

⁴⁰ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 16.

⁴¹ Rast. Gloss. Brit. voce Candida casa, p. 65.

⁴² Diod. Sic. l. 5. c. 8.

admission

admission of light and emission of smoke. Those of Gaul are thus described by Strabo: "They build their houses of wood, in the form of a circle, with lofty tapering roofs"⁴³. The foundations of some of the most magnificent of these circular houses were of stone, of which there are some vestiges still remaining in Anglesey and other places⁴⁴. It was probably in imitation of these wooden houses, that the most ancient stone edifices, of which there are still some remains in the western islands of Scotland, were built circular, and have a large aperture at the top⁴⁵.

When the Britons were invaded by the Romans they had nothing among them answering to our ideas of a city or town, consisting of a great number of contiguous houses, disposed into regular streets, lanes, and courts. Their dwellings, like those of the ancient Germans, were scattered about the country, and generally situated on the brink of some rivulet for the sake of water, and on the skirt of some wood or forest, for the convenience of hunting and pasture for their cattle⁴⁶. As these inviting circumstances were more conspicuous in some parts of the country than others, the princes and chiefs made choice of these places for their residence;

Towns of
the Britons.

⁴³ Strabo, l. 5. p. 197.

⁴⁴ Rowland's *Mona Antiq.* p. 88, 89.

⁴⁵ M'Pherson's *Dissertations*, Dissert. 17.

⁴⁶ Tacit. *de morib. German.* cap. 16. *Vita Agric.* c. 21.

and a number of their friends and followers, for various reasons, built their houses as near to them as they could with conveniency. This naturally produced an ancient British town, which is described by Cæsar and Strabo in the following manner: "From the Cassi he learnt that the town of Cassivelaun was at no great distance, a place defended by woods and marshes, in which very great numbers of men and cattle were collected. For what the Britons call a town, is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a mound and ditch, for the security of themselves and their cattle against the incursions of their enemies⁴⁷." "The forests of the Britons are their cities. For when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves and hovels for their cattle. These buildings are very slight, and not designed for long duration⁴⁸." The palaces of the British princes were probably built of the same materials, and on the same plan, with the houses of their subjects, and differed from them only in solidity and magnitude⁴⁹.

Britons made little progress in architecture between the first and second invasion.

Though the communication between this island and the continent was more free and open after the first Roman invasion than it had been before, and some of the British princes and chieftains even visited Rome, then in its greatest glory;

⁴⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 21.

⁴⁸ Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

⁴⁹ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 36.

it doth not appear that the people of Britain made any considerable improvements in their manner of building for at least a hundred years after that invasion. For when the renowned Caractacus was carried prisoner to Rome, A. D. 52, and observed the beauty and magnificence of the buildings in that proud metropolis of the world, he is said to have expressed great surprise, "That the Romans, who had such magnificent palaces of their own, should envy the wretched cabbins of the Britons⁵⁰."

It must appear very surprising that the ancient Britons, when they were so ignorant of architecture, were capable of erecting so stupendous a fabric as that of Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain. A fabric which hath been the admiration of all succeeding ages, and hath outlasted all the solid and noble structures which were erected by the Romans in this island. If this was really the work of the ancient Britons, it was probably planned by the Druids, and executed under their direction, at the common expence, and by the united power of all the British states, to be the chief temple of their Gods, and perhaps the sepulchre of their kings, and the place of their general assemblies. For it is well known, that when a people are cordially united under the direction of skilful leaders, and animated by two such powerful motives, as an ardent zeal for their religion, and for the glory of their country, they

Stone-
henge.

⁵⁰ Zonaras, p. 136.

will perform atchievements and execute works which could hardly be expected from them. However this may be, we have sufficient evidence that the people of Britain, before they were subdued and instructed by the Romans, had but little knowledge of architecture, and were very meanly lodged.

Roman
architec-
ture in
Britain.

But as soon as the Romans began to form settlements and plant colonies in this island, a sudden and surprising change ensued in the state of architecture. For that wonderful people were as industrious as they were brave, and made haste to adorn every country that they conquered. The first Roman colony was planted at Camulodunum, A. D. 50, and when it was destroyed by the Britons in their great revolt under Boadicia only eleven years after, it appears to have been a large and well-built town, adorned with statues, temples, theatres, and other public edifices. This we learn incidentally from Tacitus, when he is giving an account of the prodigies which were reported to have happened in that place, and to have announced its approaching destruction. Amongst others, “the statue of
“ Victory tumbled down, without any visible
“ violence, in the hall where public business
“ was transacted, the confused murmurs of
“ strangers were heard, and the theatre refounded
“ with dismal howlings⁵¹.” The temple of Claudius at Camulodunum was at that time so

⁵¹ Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 32.

large

large a building that it contained the whole garrison, who took shelter in it after the rest of the town was destroyed, and so strong that it stood a siege of two days against all the British army⁵². But London affords a still more striking example of the rapid progress of the Roman architecture in this island. There was either no town in that place, or at most only a British town or inclosed forest, at the time of the first Roman invasion; nor is there any reason to suppose that it was much improved between that and the second invasion under Claudius⁵³. But in about sixteen years after it came into the possession of the Romans, it became a rich, populous, and beautiful city.

The Romans not only built a prodigious number of solid, convenient, and magnificent structures for their own accommodation, but they exhorted, encouraged, and instructed the Britons to imitate their example. This was one of the arts which Agricola, the most excellent of the Roman governors, employed to civilize the Britons, and reconcile them to the Roman government. “The following winter (says Tacitus) was spent by Agricola in very salutary measures. That the Britons, who led a roaming and unsettled life, and were easily instigated to war, might contract a love to peace and tranquillity, by being accustomed to a more pleasant way of living, he exhorted and

Romans
instructed
the Britons
in archi-
tecture.

⁵² Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 32.

⁵³ Ibid. l. 14. c. 33.

“affisted them to build houses, temples, courts,
 “and market-places. By praising the diligent
 “and reproaching the indolent, he excited so
 “great an emulation among the Britons, that
 “after they had erected all those necessary edi-
 “fices in their towns, they proceeded to build
 “others merely for ornament and pleasure, as
 “porticoes, galleries, baths, banqueting-houses,
 “&c.⁵⁴” From this time, which was A. D.
 80, to the middle of the fourth century, archi-
 tecture, and all the arts immediately connected
 with it, greatly flourished in this island; and
 the same taste for erecting solid, convenient, and
 beautiful buildings, which had long prevailed in
 Italy, was introduced into Britain. Every Ro-
 man colony and free city (of which there was a
 great number in this country) was a little Rome,
 encompassed with strong walls, adorned with
 temples, palaces, courts, halls, basilicks, baths,
 markets, aqueducts, and many other fine build-
 ings, both for use and ornament. The country
 every where abounded with well-built villages,
 towns, forts, and stations; and the whole was
 defended by that high and strong wall, with its
 many towers and castles, which reached from the
 mouth of the river Tine on the east to the Sol-
 way Firth on the west. This spirit of building,
 which was introduced and encouraged by the Ro-
 mans, so much improved the taste, and increased
 the number of the British builders, that in the

54 Tacit, vita Agric. c. 21.

third century this island was famous for the great number and excellence of its architects and artificers. When the emperor Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, rebuilt the city of Autun in Gaul, A. D. 296, he was chiefly furnished with workmen from Britain, “ which (says Eumenius) very much abounded with the best artificers ⁵⁵. ”

Not very long after this period, architecture, and all the arts connected with it, began to decline very sensibly in Britain, and in all the provinces of the western empire. This was partly owing to the building of Constantinople, which drew many of the most famous architects and other artificers into the East, and partly to the irruptions and depredations of the barbarous nations. If we may believe venerable Bede, the Britons were become so ignorant of the art of building before the final departure of the Romans, that they were obliged to repair the wall between the Forth and Clyde with turfs instead of stone, for want of workmen who understood masonry ⁵⁶. But we cannot lay much stress on this testimony, because it doth not refer to the provincial Britons, but to those who lived beyond the wall of Severus, where the Roman arts never much prevailed; and because the true reason of their repairing that wall with turf, and not with stone, certainly was, that it had been originally built

Architecture began to decline about the end of the third century.

⁵⁵ Eumenii Panegyri. 8.

⁵⁶ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 12.

in that manner. Besides, we are told by the same writer, in the same place, that the provincial Britons some time after this, with the assistance of one Roman legion, built a wall of solid stone, eight feet thick and twelve high, from sea to sea⁵⁷.

Was destroyed by the departure of the Romans.

The final departure of the Romans was followed by the almost total destruction of architecture in this island. For the unhappy and unwarlike people whom they left behind, having neither skill nor courage to defend the numerous towns, forts, and cities which they possessed, they were seized by their ferocious invaders, who first plundered and then destroyed them. By this means, the many noble structures with which Provincial Britain had been adorned by the art and industry of the Romans, were ruined or defaced in a very little time, and the unfortunate Britons were quite incapable of repairing them, or of building others in their room. That long succession of miseries in which they were involved by the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, deprived them of the many useful arts which they had learned from their former masters, and lodged them once more in forests, dens, and caves, like their savage ancestors⁵⁸.

Clothing arts.

Next to food and lodging, nothing is more necessary to mankind, especially to those of them who inhabit cold and variable climates, than

⁵⁷ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 12.

⁵⁸ Ibid. l. 1. c. 14. Gildæ Hist. c. 25.

clothing.

clothing. For this reason all those arts which have for their object the providing of decent, warm, and comfortable clothing, may be justly ranked among the necessary arts; though some authors have maintained that vanity contributed as much as necessity to their invention⁵⁹.

It appears evident from ancient history, that the first inhabitants of all the countries of Europe were either naked or almost naked; owing to their ignorance of the clothing-arts⁶⁰. Such in particular was the uncomfortable state of the most ancient inhabitants of this island. When they lived on the spontaneous productions of the earth, and the animals which they caught in hunting, as they sheltered themselves during the night in thickets, dens, and caves; so when they went abroad in the day, in quest of their food, or in pursuit of their game, they were either naked, or only a little covered in the coldest seasons, with the branches and bark of trees, and such things as they could use without art or preparation⁶¹. It was probably with the same view to supply the want of clothes, and to secure themselves a little from the severest colds, that they besmeared their bodies with such things as they found most proper for that purpose. It is even certain that the people of Britain continued much longer in

Ancient Britons almost naked, painted their bodies.

⁵⁹ Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. b. 2. c. 2. p. 121.

⁶⁰ Pelloutier Hist. de Celt. t. 1. l. 2. c. 6. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16.

⁶¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 13. c. 11. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16. p. 113.

this

this condition than many of the nations on the continent, who had earlier intercourse with strangers, and better opportunities of being instructed in the most useful arts. It is a sufficient proof of this, that the Britons still continued to besmear and paint their bodies, long after the people of Spain, Gaul, and even of Germany, had abandoned that practice, and were tolerably clothed ⁶².

Uncertain
who intro-
duced the
clothing
arts.

It is impossible to discover with certainty when or by whom the art of making, or the custom of wearing clothes was first introduced into this island; or whether this art was in some degree invented by the natives without foreign instruction. For as all mankind are subjected to the same wants, and possessed of the same faculties, some of the most necessary arts have been invented in many different countries. The Phœnicians, who excelled in all the arts of clothing, visited the Scilly islands, and probably some parts of the continent of Britain, in very ancient times, on account of trade; but we have no evidence that they instructed the natives in any of these arts ⁶³. It is more probable that they did not; for no kind of cloth is mentioned among the commodities which they gave the Britons in exchange for their tin, lead, and skins ⁶⁴. The Greeks, who succeeded the Phœnicians in that trade, were not more communicative, having

⁶² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14. Pomponius Mela, l. 3. c. 6. Solinus. c. 35. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 22. c. 1.

⁶³ Ailet. Samines Brit. Antiq. c. 5.

⁶⁴ Strabo, l. 3. p. 175.

nothing in view but their own gain. The very sight however of people so comfortably clothed could hardly fail to engage the attention of the Britons, and awaken their desires of being possessed of such accommodations. Accordingly we find that the people of the Cassiterides, or Scilly islands, to which the Phœnicians and Greeks traded, were clothed in very ancient times⁶⁵.

The first garments of the ancient Britons, and of many other ancient nations, were made of skins. As they lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of their flocks, it was most natural and obvious to clothe themselves in their spoils⁶⁶. “The Britons (says Cæsar) in the interior parts of the country are clothed in skins⁶⁷.” These garments, in the most ancient times at least, did not consist of several skins artificially sewed together, so as to form a commodious covering for the body; but of one skin of some of the larger animals, which they cast about their shoulders like a mantle, and which left much of the body still naked⁶⁸. It required however some art to make these skins tolerably soft and pliable, and fit for wrapping about the body. For this purpose they made use of various means; as steeping them in water, and then beating them with stones and sticks, and rubbing them from time to time with fat to keep them pliant⁶⁹.

Ancient
Britons
clothed in
skins.

⁶⁵ Strabo, l. 3. p. 175.

⁶⁶ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. p. 298.

⁶⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

⁶⁸ Ibid. l. 4. c. 1.

⁶⁹ Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. 1. b. 2. c. 2. p. 123.

But

Clothing
arts intro-
duced be-
fore the
first inva-
sion.

But these skins, after all this preparation, afforded so imperfect a covering to the body, that we may reasonably suppose our British ancestors would content themselves with it no longer than until they became acquainted with one more comfortable and commodious. The arts of dressing wool and flax, of spinning them into yarn, and weaving them into cloth, are so complicated, that it is not probable that they were often invented, and in many different countries, like some more simple arts; but rather that they were gradually communicated from one country to another. If the Phœnicians or Greeks imparted any knowledge of these arts to the Britons, it was certainly very imperfect, and communicated only to a few of the inhabitants of the Scilly islands, with whom they chiefly traded. It is most probable that Britain was indebted to Gaul for the first knowledge of these most valuable arts, and that they were brought into this island by some of the Belgic colonies about a century before the first Roman invasion, or perhaps earlier. We may therefore conclude that the inhabitants of the southern parts of Britain were well acquainted with the arts of dressing, spinning, and weaving both flax and wool, when they were invaded by the Romans; and that they practised these arts much in the same manner with the people of Gaul, of which a tolerable account may be collected.

Several
kinds of
cloth made

The people of Gaul and Britain manufactured several kinds of woollen cloths in these times;
but

but there were two or three of which they seem to have been the inventors, and in making of which they very much excelled. One of these kinds of cloth which was manufactured by the Belgæ, both on the continent and in this island, was made of a coarse, harsh kind of wool. It was woven very thick, which rendered it remarkably warm. Of this they made their mantles, or plaids, which they used in winter. The Romans themselves, when they were in cold, northern countries, wore this cloth on account of its warmth⁷⁰. Another kind of cloth which the Gauls and Britons manufactured was made of fine wool dyed several different colours⁷¹. This being spun into yarn, was woven chequer-wise, which made it fall into small squares, some of one colour and some of another. This seems to have been the same kind of cloth which is still made and used by some of the common people in the Highlands of Scotland, and is known by the name of tartan. Of this cloth the ancient Gauls and Britons made their summer mantles and other garments. The Gauls, and perhaps the Britons, also manufactured a kind of cloth, or rather felt, of wool, without either spinning or weaving; and of the wool which was shorn from this in dressing it they made mattresses. This cloth or felt is said to have been so strong and firm, when vinegar was used in making it, that it

by the
Gauls and
Britons.

⁷⁰ Strabo, l. 4. p. 196.

⁷¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 8. c. 48. § 74. In usum Delphini, t. 2.
p. 231. Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 353.

resisted the blow of a sword, and was even some defence against fire ⁷². Some writers are of opinion, that by the bark of trees with which the ancient Britons and many other ancient nations are said to have clothed themselves, we are not to understand the outward bark which is unreliable and unfit for that purpose, but the inner bark or rind; and that not in its natural state, but split into long threads, and woven into cloth. As a proof of the truth of this conjecture, they observe, that in many parts of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, they still make a kind of cloth of the inner bark of some trees, which they call *Matten*, and lay under their corns; and that in more ancient and ruder times, they and others used this for clothing ⁷³. It is even pretended, that mankind took the first hint of that most noble and useful invention of weaving webs of warp and woof from observing the texture of the inner bark of trees ⁷⁴.

Art of dying cloth:

It appears from what hath been said above, that the ancient Gauls and Britons were not ignorant of the art of dying wool, yarn, and cloth different colours. We have even direct evidence that they excelled in some branches of this art, and possessed valuable secrets in it that were unknown to other nations. “The art of dying cloth (says Pliny) is now arrived at very great perfection, and hath lately been enriched with

⁷² Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 8. c. 48.

⁷³ Cluver. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16. p. 113.

⁷⁴ Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. 1. p. 126.

“ wonder-

“wonderful discoveries. To say nothing at present of the imperial purple of Galatia, Africa, Lusitania, the people of Gaul beyond the Alps have invented a method of dying purple, scarlet, and all other colours, only with certain herbs⁷⁵.” Several of these herbs which the Gauls and Britons used in dying, are occasionally mentioned by Pliny in different places⁷⁶. But the herb which they chiefly used for this purpose was the glastum, or woad; and they seem to have been led to the discovery of its valuable properties in dying cloth, from the former use of it in painting and staining their bodies⁷⁷. The deep blue long continued to be the favourite colour of the ancient Britons, and particularly of the Caledonians, in their clothes, as it had formerly been the colour with which they stained their skin; and both these were executed with the same materials⁷⁸.

Though the hair and wool of animals were probably the first, yet they were not long the only materials that were used in making cloth for garments. The attention and industry of mankind soon discovered several other things that were fit for answering that purpose; particularly the long, slender, and flexible filaments of flax and hemp. These plants were cultivated with this view; and their fine fibres (after they were separated

Art of
making
linen.

⁷⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 22 c. 2.

⁷⁶ Id. ibid. l. 16, c. 18. l. 21, c. 26.

⁷⁷ Id. ibid. l. 22.

⁷⁸ Claudian, Imprim. Con. Stil.

from the wood, and properly prepared) were spun into yarn, and woven into cloth, in Egypt, Palestine, and other eastern countries, in very ancient times⁷⁹. From thence these arts of cultivating, dressing, and spinning flax, and weaving linen cloth, were communicated to the several European nations, by slow degrees, and at different times. It was even long after they had been practised in the east, that they made their way into Italy, and were generally received in that country. For some of the greatest families among the old Romans boasted, that they made no use of linen in their houses, or about their persons; and the use of it was long considered as a mark of effeminacy, and a piece of criminal luxury, by that brave and hardy people⁸⁰. By slow degrees, however, the manufactory and use of this pleasant, cleanly, and beautiful kind of cloth prevailed not only over all Italy, but also in Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain⁸¹. The art of making, and the custom of wearing linen, were probably brought into this island by the Belgic colonies, at the same time with agriculture, and kept pace with that most useful of all arts, in its progress northwards. For as there is direct evidence that the Belgæ manufactured linen, as well as cultivated their lands on the continent, we have good reason to conclude, that they continued to do the same after they settled

⁷⁹ Exod. c. 9. v. 31. Deuteron. c. 22. v. 7. Martin. Capel. l. 9. p. 39.

⁸⁰ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 9. c. 1.

⁸¹ Id. ibid.

in this island; and that such of the more ancient Britons as imitated their example in the one, would also follow it in the other.

The ancient Gauls and Britons were not unacquainted with the art of bleaching linen cloth, in order to render it softer, whiter, and more beautiful, though their process for this purpose seems to have been very simple and imperfect, as is described by Pliny. "Again, after the flax
" is spun into yarn, it must be bleached and whitened, by being pounded several times in a
" stone mortar with water: and lastly, when it is
" woven into cloth, it must be beaten upon a
" smooth stone, with broad-headed cudgels;
" and the more frequently and severely it is
" beaten, it will be the whiter and softer⁸²." They sometimes put certain herbs, particularly the roots of wild poppies, into the water, to make it more efficacious in bleaching linen⁸³. But as this elegant kind of cloth is very apt to contract stains and impurities in the using, so nothing is more necessary to those who wear it, than the art of washing and cleansing it from time to time. To this art the Gauls and Britons were not strangers. For soap, made of the tallow or fat of animals, and the ashes of certain vegetables, was not only very much used, but was even invented by the ancient Gauls⁸⁴.

Arts of
bleaching
and wash-
ing linen.

⁸² Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 19. c. 1. § 3.

⁸³ Id. ibid. l. 26. c. 19. § 2.

⁸⁴ Id. ibid. l. 28. c. 12. § 3.

Clothing
arts in Bri-
tain im-
proved by
the Ro-
mans.

But though it appears from this brief detail, that the most civilized of the ancient Britons were not altogether unacquainted with the most essential branches of the clothing arts before they were subdued by the Romans, yet it is very certain that these most ingenious and useful arts were very much improved and diffused in this island by that event. For one great advantage which the Romans and their subjects derived from the prodigious extent of their empire, was this; that they thereby became acquainted with all the useful and ornamental arts that were practised in all the different countries under their dominion. These arts they readily learnt themselves, and as readily taught their subjects in all the provinces of their empire, where they had been unknown, or imperfectly practised. In order to this, the emperors were at great pains to discover and procure the most excellent artificers of all kinds, particularly the best manufacturers of woollen and linen cloth, whom they formed into colleges or corporations, with various privileges, under certain officers and regulations, and settled in the most convenient places of the several provinces of the empire. In these imperial colleges or manufactories, all kinds of woollen and linen cloths were made, for the use of the emperor's family and court, and of the officers and soldiers of the Roman armies⁸³. All

⁸³ Vide Cod. Theod. tom. 3. l. 10. tit. 20. p. 504, &c. Du Cange Gloss. in voce Gynæceum.

these

these colleges were under the direction of that great officer of the empire who was called the Count of the Sacred Largesses; and every particular college or gynæceum was governed by a procurator. It appears from the *Notitia Imperii*, that there was such an imperial manufactory of woollen and linen cloth, for the use of the Roman army in Britain, established at *Venta Belgarum*, now Winchester ⁸⁶.

Besides those arts which are directly and immediately necessary to provide mankind with food, lodging, and clothing, there are others which are necessary to the successful practice of those first and most indispensable arts; which may therefore be called necessary in an inferior and secondary degree. Of this kind are the various arts of working wood and metals, the state and progress of which, in this island, in this most ancient period of the British history, claim a moment's attention.

Secondary
arts.

We have little direct information concerning the degree of knowledge which the ancient Britons had of the carpenters' and joiners' arts, before they were subdued and instructed by the Romans. This was considerably different, no doubt, in the different parts of this island. Wherever they built houses of wood they were tolerably substantial and convenient; they must have understood how to cut beams to a certain length, to square and smooth them, to frame

Carpenters'
arts.

⁸⁶ *Camd. Brit. v. i. p. 139.*

and join them together, so as to form the walls and support the roofs. This last operation was the more difficult, and required the greater art, as these roofs were made in a conical form, with an aperture at the top. These Britons who practised agriculture, must have known how to make ploughs, harrows, and other implements of husbandry: and those who manufactured linen and woollen cloth, must have had the art of making distaffs, spindles, looms, skuttles, and other instruments. There is one circumstance which is truly surprising, and would incline us to believe that the ancient Britons, even in the most northern parts of this island, had made much greater progress in the carpenters' and joiners' arts, than could have been expected from a people in their condition in other respects. This circumstance is their war chariots. Many of the Roman and Greek authors speak with admiration of the prodigious number and great elegance of the British chariots, as well as of the wonderful dexterity of the Britons in managing them⁸⁷. The best way of accounting for this seems to be, by observing that those nations who delight in war, as the ancient Britons did, arrive sooner at much greater dexterity in those arts that are subservient to it, than they do in others.

Improved
by the
Romans.

As the Romans had arrived at great perfection in all the arts at the time when they formed their

⁸⁷ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 35, 36. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 33. l. 5. c. 19. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. p. 346. Pomp. Mela, l. 3.

first settlements in Britain, so they particularly excelled in carpenters', joiners', and cabinet-makers' works; in which they, no doubt, instructed their British subjects. Among the various secrets in these arts, which the Britons probably learnt from their ingenious and beneficent conquerors, we may reckon—the construction of proper tools and instruments, in which a rude people are always most defective—the way of making and using glew, for uniting different pieces of wood—the arts of turning, pannelling, wainscoting, faneering, and inlaying with wood, horn, ivory, and tortoise-shell, &c. for we know that the Romans were perfectly well acquainted with all these secrets, and very ready to communicate them to all their subjects⁸⁸.

The arts of refining and working metals are no less necessary, but much more difficult to discover than the arts of working wood. For this reason, many nations have continued long without the knowledge or the use of metals, and endeavoured to supply their place, in some measure, with flints, bones, and other substances⁸⁹. This appears to have been the condition of the people of Britain in this respect in very ancient times, from the great number of sharp instruments, as the heads of axes, spears, arrows, &c. made of flints, which have been found in many

Art of
working
metals.

⁸⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 10. c. 42, 43.

⁸⁹ Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. b. 2. c. 4. p. 140.

parts of this island⁹⁰. It is, however, abundantly evident, that our British ancestors had either discovered, or had been taught the use and the art of working several metals, as tin, lead, brass and iron, before they were invaded by the Romans.

Tin.

Tin was probably the first metal that was known to the ancient Britons. This much at least is certain, that the people of Cornwall and the Scilly islands understood the arts of refining and working this valuable metal several centuries before the first Roman invasion⁹¹. Their process in digging and refining tin, is thus briefly described by Diodorus Siculus: "The Britons
 " who dwell near the Promontory Belcrium
 " (Lands-end) are very hospitable, and, by their
 " great intercourse with foreign merchants,
 " much more civilized in their way of living
 " than the other Britons. They dig tin ore out
 " of their mines, and prepare it with great dexterity and art. Though this ore is naturally
 " of a hard substance like stone, yet it is mixed
 " and incorporated with much earth, from which
 " they separate it with great care; and then melt
 " and cast it into blocks or ingots of a square
 " form, like dice⁹²."

⁹⁰ Dr. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 287. Plot's *Hist. Stafford*, p. 404.

⁹¹ Bochart, v. 1. p. 648. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 27, &c.

⁹² Diod. Sicul. l. 5. p. 347.

Lead

Lead was another metal with which the ancient Britons were very early acquainted, as is evident from its having been one of the commodities which the Phœnicians exported from Cornwall and the Scilly islands⁹³. If what Pliny tells was true, it was impossible for the people of Britain to remain very long without the knowledge of this metal. "In Spain and Gaul the mines of lead are very deep, and wrought with great labour; but in Britain this metal is found near the surface of the earth, and that in such abundance, that they have made a law that no more than a certain fixed quantity of it shall be wrought annually"⁹⁴.

Brass, or rather copper, was known to and used by some of the people of Britain in very ancient times; and they were probably made acquainted with it first by the Phœnicians, who gave them brass in exchange for their lead and tin⁹⁵. This is confirmed by Cæsar, who says, "That all the brass used by the Britons was imported"⁹⁶. But from whatever quarter they received their brass, it is certain they made much use of it, and understood the art of working it into various shapes⁹⁷. This is evident, from the prodigious number of instruments of different sizes and kinds, as axes, swords, spear-heads,

⁹³ Strabo, l. 3. sub fine, p. 175.

⁹⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 17.

⁹⁵ Strabo, l. 3. sub fine, p. 175.

⁹⁶ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

⁹⁷ Mem. de Trevoux Fevrier 1713, p. 288, 292, 295.

arrow-heads, &c. made of copper, and known among antiquaries by the general name of Celts, which have been found in Britain⁹⁸. “ In May 1735, were found above 100 (of these copper Celts) on Easterly-moor, twelve miles N. W. of York, together with several lumps of metal, and a quantity of cinders; so that no doubt remained of there having been a forge at that place for making them⁹⁹.” Even the Maæataæ and Caledonians were not strangers to the art of working brass. For we are told by Dio Nicæus, “ That they had a round ball of brass like an apple at the end of their spears, with which they made a great noise, and endeavoured to frighten their enemies’ horses¹⁰⁰.”

Iron.

Though iron is the most necessary and useful of all metals, and its ore is most abundant and universally diffused, yet the difficulty of distinguishing and working it hath been the occasion that many nations have been well acquainted with several other metals long before they had any knowledge of iron¹⁰¹. This was certainly the case of the ancient Britons, when they made their tools and arms of copper; which they would not have done if they had been in possession of iron, which is so much fitter for these purposes.

⁹⁸ Leland’s Itinerary, v. I. p. 117. Rowland’s Mona Antiq. p. 86. in note.

⁹⁹ Dr. Borlase’s Antiq. Cornwall, p. 283, 284.

¹⁰⁰ Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in vita Severi.

¹⁰¹ Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. I. p. 157.

At the time of the first Roman invasion, iron seems to have been but lately introduced into this island, and was then so scarce and rare a commodity, that the Britons made their money and their trinkets for adorning their persons of that metal¹⁰². But the utility of iron in agriculture, and all the other arts, is so great, that when it is once discovered, it soon becomes common and plentiful in every country; as it did in Britain, especially after the Romans had established their imperial founderies for making iron, and their noble forges for manufacturing arms, tools, and utensils of all kinds¹⁰³.

When the Romans first invaded this island, it was not known that it afforded either of the two precious metals of silver or gold. This appears from the silence of Cæsar, and the direct testimony of Trebatius and Quintus Cicero, who accompanied him in his British expeditions¹⁰⁴. But these metals seem to have been discovered very soon after that period. For it is certain that the Britons had both silver and gold, and understood the art of working them, before they were subdued by the Romans under Claudius. This is evident from the testimony of Tacitus, who tells us, “ Britain produceth silver, gold, and other metals, to reward its conquerors¹⁰⁵ :”

Gold and
silver.

¹⁰² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. Herodian. l. 3. c. 46.

¹⁰³ Musgrave Belgium Britannicum, p. 64. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 323, &c.

¹⁰⁴ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. Cic. Epist. l. 3. ep. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12. Id. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.

and

and from the great number of gold chains that were taken from Caractacus, and carried in a kind of triumph into Rome. The arts of discovering, refining, and working these precious metals, had probably been brought into this island from Gaul, where they had long flourished ¹⁰⁶.

Potters' art.

Vessels of some kind or other, for containing and preserving liquids, are so necessary, that they have been very early invented in all countries; and as clay is found in every place, is easily moulded into any form, and naturally hardens in the sun or in fire, it hath been almost universally used in making vessels for these purposes in the first stages of society. The people of Britain were furnished with earthen vessels by the Phœnicians in very ancient times; and they no doubt soon learnt to make others in imitation of them for their own use ¹⁰⁷. Many urns of earthen ware, supposed to have been the workmanship of the ancient Britons, have been found in barrows in different parts of Britain ¹⁰⁸. The Romans made much use of earthen wares; greatly excelled in the art of making them; and the vestiges of several of their great potteries are still discernible in this island ¹⁰⁹.

Art of war.

Besides those arts which are naturally necessary to mankind, there is one which their own avarice,

¹⁰⁶ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 9. § 27. p. 350.

¹⁰⁷ Strabo, l. 3. sub fin.

¹⁰⁸ Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 236, &c.

¹⁰⁹ Philosophical Transactions, No. 263,

ambition,

ambition, and other passions, have rendered no less necessary. This is the art of war, which in the present state of human affairs is as indispensable as any of the arts already mentioned. That it is a real misfortune to a people to be possessed of the greatest abundance of the necessities and comforts of life, and of all the arts which procure these advantages, if they have not at the same time the skill and courage to defend themselves and their possessions, the deplorable state of the unwarlike Britons, when they were abandoned by the Romans, affords a most convincing proof.

As the art of war is as necessary, so it hath every where been as ancient, as any of the other arts. Whenever there have been men to fight, and any thing to fight for, there have been wars. It is true indeed, that the first conflicts of savage tribes hardly deserve the name of art. They defend themselves, and they annoy their enemies, with such weapons as chance presents, and by such methods as their natural cunning suggests, or their present rage inspires. But war doth not any where continue long in this artless state. Life and victory are so dear to mankind, that they employ all their ingenuity in contriving the most effectual means of preserving the one and procuring the other. It appears from the history of all nations, that in their most early periods they were greater proficient in the art of war than in any of the other arts. This was evidently the case of the ancient Britons before they were
invaded

Antiquity
of this art.

invaded by the Romans. Some of them were naked, but none of them were unarmed. Several of their tribes could neither plough, nor sow, nor plant, nor build, nor spin, nor weave; but all of them could fight, and that not only with much courage, but also with considerable degrees of art. This fatal but necessary skill they had acquired in those almost incessant wars in which the petty states of Britain had long been engaged against one another; and by this skill they were enabled to make a long and glorious struggle for liberty, even against the Romans, who so far excelled all the rest of mankind in the dreadful art of subduing or destroying their fellow-creatures. It is proper therefore to take a short view of the military arts of the ancient Britons in this place: their remarkable customs relating to war will be hereafter mentioned ¹¹⁰.

All were
trained to
war.

All the young men among the ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic nations (the Druids only excepted), were trained to the use of arms from their early youth, continued in the exercise of them to their old age, and were always ready to appear when they were called by their leaders into actual service ¹¹¹. Their every diversions and amusements were of a martial and manly cast, and contributed greatly to increase their agility, strength, and courage ¹¹²: a circumstance which

¹¹⁰ Chap. VII.

¹¹¹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 29. Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.
Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 47. p. 312.

¹¹² Chap. VII.

is perhaps too much neglected in the military discipline of modern times. Their kings and great men in particular were constantly surrounded with a chosen band of brave and noble youths, who spent their time in hunting and martial sports; and were ready at a moment's warning to embark, with eagerness and joy, in any military expedition ¹¹³. They had even academies in which their young noblemen were instructed in the use, and accustoming to the exercise, of arms ¹¹⁴. By these and the like means, the ancient British states, though neither large nor populous, were enabled to bring prodigious multitudes of warriors into the field, all expert in the use of their arms, and conducted by brave and able leaders ¹¹⁵.

The armies of the ancient Britons were not divided into distinct corps; consisting each of a certain determinate number of men, commanded by officers of different ranks, like the Roman legions, or our modern regiments; but all the warriors of each particular clan or family formed a distinct band, commanded by the chieftain or head of that family ¹¹⁶. This disposition was attended with great advantages; and these family-bands, united by the strongest ties of blood, and by the most solemn oaths, fought with the keenest

Constitution of the British armies.

¹¹³ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 13.

¹¹⁴ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 30.

¹¹⁵ Xiphilin. ex Dione in vita Neronis.

¹¹⁶ Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34. Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 136.

ardor

ardor for the safety of their fathers, sons, brothers, and near relations; for the glory of their chief, and the honour of their name and family¹¹⁷. All the several clans which composed one state or kingdom, were commanded in chief by the sovereign of that state; and when two or more states made war in conjunction, the king of one of these states was chosen, by common consent, to be generalissimo of the combined army¹¹⁸. Such commanders in chief over several allied kings and states were Cassibelanus, Caractacus, Galgacus, and even Boadicia queen of the Iceni. For though the ancient Britons were a brave and fierce people, they did not disdain to fight under the command of a woman, when she happened to be animated with an heroic spirit, and invested with sovereign authority.

Different
kinds of
their
troops.

Infantry,
and their
arms.

The troops which composed the armies of the ancient Britons were of three kinds; infantry, cavalry, and those who fought from chariots.

The infantry of the Britons was by far the most numerous body, and constituted, according to Tacitus, the chief strength of their armies¹¹⁹. These troops were very swift of foot, excelled in swimming over rivers and passing over fens and marshes, which enabled them to make sud-

¹¹⁷ Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34.

¹¹⁸ Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 33. Cæsar de Bel. Gall. l. 5. c. 11. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 29. Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in vita Neronis.

¹¹⁹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

den and unexpected attacks, and expeditious retreats¹²⁰. They were not encumbered with much clothing, many of them being almost naked; having neither breast-plates, helmets, nor any other defensive armour but small and light shields or targets¹²¹. Their offensive arms were long and broad swords without points, and designed only for cutting, which were slung in a belt or chain over the left shoulder, and hung down by the right-side; short and sharp-pointed dirks fixed in their girdles; a spear, with which they fought sometimes hand to hand, and used sometimes as a missile weapon, having a thong fixed to it for recovering it again; and at the butt end a round ball of brass filled with pieces of metal, to make a noise when they engaged with cavalry¹²². Some, instead of spears, were armed with bows and arrows¹²³. From this very short description it will appear, that these troops were far from being contemptible enemies.

The cavalry of the ancient Britons were mounted on small, but very hardy, spirited, and mettlesome horses, which they managed with great dexterity¹²⁴. They were armed with ob-

Cavalry.

¹²⁰ Herodian. l. 3. c. 46. Xiphilin: ex Dione in Ner.

¹²¹ Id. ibid.

¹²² Herodian. ibid. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 36. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 195. Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 44. Boxhornii Orig. Gal. p. 22.—26.

¹²³ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 43.

¹²⁴ Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

long shields, broad swords, and long spears ¹²⁵. It was usual with the Britons, as well as Gauls and Germans, to dismount and fight on foot; having their horses so well trained, that they stood firm in the place where they left them, till they returned ¹²⁶. It was also a common practice among all these nations to mix an equal number of their swiftest footmen with their cavalry; each footman holding by a horse's mane, and keeping pace with him in all his motions ¹²⁷. This way of fighting continued so long among the genuine posterity of the Caledonians, that it was practised by the Highlanders in the Scots army in the civil wars of the last century ¹²⁸.

**Chariot
fighting.**

Those who fought from chariots constituted the most remarkable corps in the armies of the ancient Britons. This formidable corps seems to have been chiefly composed of persons of distinction, and the very flower of their youth. In the venerable remains of the son of Fingal, Car-born is the most common epithet for a prince or chieftain, and is never bestowed on a person of inferior rank ¹²⁹. As this singular art of war was almost peculiar to the ancient Britons, and they greatly excelled and delighted in it, it may not be improper to give a brief description of the different kinds and constructions of their

¹²⁵ Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 48.

¹²⁶ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 2.

¹²⁷ Id. ibid. l. 1. c. 48. Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 6.

¹²⁸ Memoirs of a Cavalier, p. 142, 143.

¹²⁹ Poems of Ossian, passim.

war-chariots, and of their way of fighting from them.

When we consider the imperfect state of some of the most useful and necessary arts in Britain, before it was invaded by the Romans, we could hardly expect to find in it wheel-carriages of any kind; much less chariots for state, for pleasure, and for war, of various forms, and of elegant and curious workmanship. It appears however from the concurring testimonies of many ¹³⁰ writers of the most unquestionable credit, that there were such chariots in prodigious numbers, even in the most remote and uncultivated parts of this island, in these ancient times. The wheel-carriages and war-chariots of the ancient Britons are mentioned in the Greek and Roman authors by several different names, particularly the six following; Benna, Petoritum, Currus, or Carrus, Covinus, Effedum, Rheda. By each of these words, as some imagine, a particular kind of carriage is intended, which they distinguish and describe in the following manner:

Various
kinds of
chariots

The Benna seems to have been a kind of carriage used rather for travelling than for war. It contained two or more persons, who were called Combennones from their sitting together in the same machine. The name was probably derived from the British word Ben, which signifies head

Penna.

¹³⁰ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12. 36. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 24. 32. l. 5. c. 16. 19. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever. Dio. Cassius, l. 60. Mela, l. 3. c. 5. Strabo, l. 4. p. 200. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 346.

or chief; and these carriages perhaps got this appellation from the high rank of the persons who used them ¹³¹.

Petoriturum. The Petoriturum seems to have been a larger kind of carriage than the Benna, and is thought to have derived its name from having four wheels; as Pedwar in the British language, and Peteres in the Æolic dialect of the Greek tongue (which was spoken by the people of Merseilles in Gaul), signify four ¹³².

Carrus. The Carrus or Currus was the common cart or waggon. This kind of carriage was used by the ancient Britons in times of peace for the purposes of agriculture and merchandize, and in time of war for carrying their baggage and wives and children, who commonly followed the armies of all the Celtic nations ¹³³.

Covinus. The Covinus was a war-chariot, and a very terrible instrument of destruction; being armed with sharp scythes and hooks for cutting and tearing all who were so unhappy as to come within its reach. This kind of chariot was made very slight, and had few or no men in it beside the charioteer; being designed to drive with great force and rapidity, and to do execution chiefly with its hooks and scythes ¹³⁴.

¹³¹ Boxhornii Origines Gallicæ, p. 26. Sammes Brit. Antiq. p. 121.

¹³² Boxhornii Orig. Gal. p. 26. Cluver. Germ. Antiq. p. 56.

¹³³ Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 7.

¹³⁴ Mela, l. 3. c. 6. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 36.

The Effedum and Rheda were also war-chariots, probably of a large size, and stronger made than the Covinus, and designed for containing a charioteer, for driving it, and one or two warriors for fighting. The far greatest number of the war-chariots of the ancient Britons were of this kind ¹³⁵.

Effedum.

After this prosaic detail, the following poetical description of the war-chariot of an ancient British prince will not be disagreeable: "The car,
 "the car of battle comes, like the flame of
 "death; the rapid car of Cuchullin, the noble
 "son of Semo. It bends behind like a wave
 "near a rock; like the golden mist of the
 "heath. Its sides are embossed with stones,
 "and sparkle like the sea round the boat of
 "night. Of polished yew is its beam, and its
 "seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are re-
 "plenished with spears, and the bottom is the
 "foot-stool of heroes. Before the right-side of
 "the car is seen the snorting horse—Bright are
 "the sides of the steed, and his name is Sulin-
 "sifadda. Before the left-side of the car is seen
 "the snorting horse. The thin-maned, high-
 "headed, strong-hoofed, fleet bounding son of
 "the hill: his name is Dufronnel among the
 "stormy sons of the sword. A thousand thongs
 "bind the car on high. Hard-polished bits shine
 "in a wreath of foam. Thin thongs, bright-
 "studded with gems, bend on the stately necks

¹³⁵ Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 24. 32. l. 5, c. 16. 19.

“ of the steeds. The steeds that like wreaths
 “ of mist fly over the streamy vales, the wild-
 “ nefs of deer is in their course, the strength of
 “ the eagle descending on her prey. Their
 “ noise is like the blast of winter on the sides of
 “ the snow-headed Gormal ¹³⁶.”

Great
 number of
 chariots
 and great
 dexterity
 of their
 drivers,

Besides the many different kinds of these chariots, there are two other circumstances concerning them which are truly surprising, and if they were not so well attested would appear incredible. These are their prodigious numbers, and the admirable dexterity with which they managed and conducted them. Cæsar acquaints us, that after Cassibelanus had dismissed all his other forces, he still retained no fewer than four thousand of these war-chariots about his person ¹³⁷. This number is so great, that we can hardly help suspecting that it was magnified a little beyond the truth, by the apprehensions of the Romans, who were terribly annoyed by these chariots. The same illustrious warrior and writer, who was an attentive observer of every thing of this kind, gives us the following account of the dexterity with which the Britons managed their war-chariots:

“ Their way of fighting with their chariots
 “ is this: first, they drive their chariots on all
 “ sides, and throw their darts; insomuch that
 “ by the very terror of the horses, and noise of
 “ the wheels, they often break the ranks of the

¹³⁶ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 11, 12.

¹³⁷ Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 19.

“ enemy,

“ enemy. When they have forced their way
 “ into the midst of the cavalry, they quit their
 “ chariots and fight on foot. Meanwhile the
 “ drivers retire a little from the combat, and
 “ place themselves in such a manner as to favour
 “ the retreat of their countrymen, should they
 “ be overpowered by the enemy. Thus in ac-
 “ tion they perform the part both of nimble
 “ horsemen and of stable infantry; and by con-
 “ tinual exercise and use, have arrived at that
 “ expertness, that in the most steep and difficult
 “ places they can stop their horses upon full
 “ stretch, turn them which way they please, run
 “ along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw
 “ themselves back into their chariots, with incre-
 “ dible dexterity ¹³⁸.”

What Cæsar here says concerning the drivers retiring out of the combat with their chariots may seem, at first sight, to be inconsistent with what we are told by Tacitus: “ That the most
 “ honourable person commonly drives the cha-
 “ riot, and under his conduct his followers
 “ fight ¹³⁹.” But this might be their disposition only while the chariots were advancing, and before they had made an impression on the enemy; and then the chief warrior might resign the reins to a person of inferior note, to conduct the chariot out of the battle.

Cæsar and
 Tacitus
 reconciled.

¹³⁸ Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 33.

¹³⁹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

Chariot-
fighting
continued
long in
Britain.

War-chariots had been used by the people of Gaul in former times; but they seem to have laid them aside before they were engaged with the Romans under Julius Cæsar¹⁴⁰. For that general makes no mention of them in any of his battles with the Gauls. It is probable therefore, that in Cæsar's time chariot-fighting was known and practised only in this island, and continued to be so until it was subdued by the Romans, and longer in those parts of it that were not conquered. When we consider what a singular and formidable appearance so prodigious a number of these war-chariots, driven with such rapidity, and managed with such dexterity, must have made in advancing to the charge, we need not be surpris'd that the Roman soldiers, though the bravest and most intrepid of mankind, were so much disconcerted, as we are told they were by this way of fighting¹⁴¹.

Want of
union the
great mis-
fortune of
the Bri-
tons.

Such were the different kinds of troops among the ancient Britons, their arms, and their dexterity in handling these arms. In all these respects they were so formidable, that one of the most intelligent of the Latin historians acknowledges, that there was nothing wanting but union among the British states, to have enabled them to defend their country and their liberty against the Romans. "They are swayed (says Tacitus, "speaking of the Britons) by many chiefs, and

¹⁴⁰ Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 352. Livii, Hist. l. 10. c. 28.

¹⁴¹ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 15, 16.

“rent into factions and parties, according to the
 “humours and passions of their leaders. Nor
 “against nations so powerful does aught so much
 “avail us, as that they consult not in a body for
 “the security of the whole. It is seldom that two
 “or three communities assemble and unite to
 “repulse any public danger threatening to all.
 “By this means, while only a single state fought
 “at a time, they were all subdued one after
 “another ¹⁴².”

Colours, standards, and military ensigns of various kinds, to distinguish the different corps in an army, and to animate them with courage in defence of their insignia, appear to have been of great antiquity in all countries ¹⁴³, and were not unknown to the ancient Britons. The standard of Fingal, which was called the Sun-beam, is described with great pomp in the poems of Ossian. “Raise (cries the hero) my standards on
 “high—spread them on Lena’s wind, like the
 “flames of an hundred hills. Let them sound
 “on the winds of Erin, and remind us of the
 “fight ¹⁴⁴.” Instruments of martial music, for rousing the courage of the combatants, calling them to arms, founding the charge and the retreat, were of great antiquity in this island, as well as in other countries ¹⁴⁵.

Their
standards,
&c.

¹⁴² Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

¹⁴³ Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 49. p. 316.

¹⁴⁴ Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 57. Id. ibid. v. 1. p. 4. v. 2. p. 72.

¹⁴⁵ Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 49 p. 318. Ossian’s Poems, v. 2 p. 13.

Military
knowledge
of the Bri-
tish gene-
rals.

The princes and generals of the ancient Britons do not seem to have been destitute of the skill of conducting and commanding armies, or deficient in the knowledge or practice of any part of their duty. In drawing up their troops in order of battle, they commonly placed their infantry in the centre, in several lines, and in distinct corps, at a distance from each other; and as they chose the ascent of a hill for the field of battle, all these lines were seen by the enemy, and made a formidable appearance, rising one above another¹⁴⁵. Each of these distinct corps consisted of the warriors of one clan, commanded by its own chieftain¹⁴⁶. These bodies of infantry were commonly formed each in the shape of a wedge, presenting its sharpest point to the enemy; and they were so disposed that they could readily support and relieve one another¹⁴⁷. The cavalry and chariots were placed on the wings, or in small flying parties along the front of the army, to skirmish with the enemy and begin the action¹⁴⁸. In the rear, and on the flanks, they placed their waggons, with their mothers, wives, and children in them; both to serve as a fortification to prevent their being attacked in these parts, and to inflame their courage by the presence of persons who

¹⁴⁵ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 36, 37. Annal. l. 12. c. 33, 34.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. c. 34.

¹⁴⁷ Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 50. p. 321.

¹⁴⁸ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 37.

were

were so dear to them, and whose safety depended on their bravery ¹⁴⁹. When the army was formed and ready to engage, the commander in chief rode along the line in a war-chariot, animating the troops by such speeches as were most likely to rouse their courage and exasperate them against their enemies; while the chieftain of each particular clan harangued his followers to the same purpose ¹⁵⁰. To these speeches of their leaders the troops replied with loud and dreadful cries to express their own alacrity, and to strike terror into the adverse army; and the signal of battle being given, they rushed forward to the charge with great impetuosity, shouting and singing their war-songs ¹⁵¹.

Some of the British princes discovered very great abilities in the command of armies and the conduct of a war. Cassibelanus, Caractacus, Galgacus, and others, according to the accounts of the Roman historians, formed several plans of operations, and contrived stratagems and surprises which would have done honour to the most renowned commanders of Greece and Rome. In particular they observe, that they chose their ground for fighting with great judgment, and availed themselves, on all occasions, of their superior knowledge of the country in the best

Military
stratagems.

¹⁴⁹ Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 50. p. 322.

¹⁵⁰ Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34. Vita Agric. c. 30, 31, 32. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Nerone.

¹⁵¹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 33. Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 56.

manner.

manner¹⁵². It cannot however be denied, that the Britons of those times were much fitter for skirmishes, surprises, and an irregular kind of war, than for fighting pitched battles. In the former they were often successful against the Romans; in the latter, they were never able to resist the steady valour and the superior arms and discipline of that victorious people.

Fortifica-
tion and
attack of
places.

It must likewise be confessed that there was one part of the military art of which the ancient Britons had very little knowledge. This was the art of fortifying, defending, and attacking castles, towns, and cities. Their strongest places were surrounded only with a slight ditch and a rampart of earth, and some of them with nothing but felled trees¹⁵³. They seldom threw up any entrenchments about their camps, which, for the most part, had no other defence but their carts and waggons placed in a circle around them¹⁵⁴. As the Britons of these times delighted to live, so they chose to fight, in the open fields. Their impatient courage, and their aversion to labour, made them unable to endure the delays and fatigues of defending or besieging strong places; and they often reproached the Romans with cowardice, for raising such solid works about their camps and stations¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵² Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 32. l. 5. c. 22. Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 33. Vita Agric. c. 25, 26.

¹⁵³ Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 9. 21.

¹⁵⁴ Vegetius, l. 3. c. 10.

¹⁵⁵ See Boadicea's famous speech to her army in Xiphilin. ex Dione in Nerone.

The art of war had a different fate from all the other arts among the ancient Britons after they were subdued by the Romans. They were greatly improved both in the theory and practice of the other arts, but lost all their military skill, and all their dexterity in the use of arms, by that event. For it was the constant policy of the Romans to deprive all those nations whom they subdued of the use of arms, and to accustom them to a soft, effeminate way of life, that they might neither have the ability, nor even the inclination, to shake off their yoke. This policy they practised so effectually in this island, that the provincial Britons in a little time degenerated from a race of brave, undaunted warriors, into a generation of effeminate and helpless cowards. As long as they lived in profound security under the protection of their conquerors, they fancied themselves perfectly happy, and were insensible of the grievous loss which they had sustained. But when they were abandoned by their protectors, and left to themselves, they were soon convinced by the miseries in which they were involved, "That
 " no improvements in arts, nor increase of wealth,
 " could compensate for the loss of national spirit,
 " and the power of self-defence"¹⁵⁶.

Such seems to have been the state of the necessary arts in this island before it was subdued by the Romans; and such the changes that were

Military knowledge of the Britons declined after the Roman conquest.

¹⁵⁶ Gildæ Hist. c. 11, 12. &c.

made in them by that event. It is now time to proceed to take a short view of the state of the fine or pleasing arts of sculpture, painting, poetry, and music, in the same period.

The pleasing as ancient as the necessary arts.

When we consider the rude imperfect state of some of the most necessary and useful arts in Britain before it was invaded by the Romans, we may be inclined to think that the fine and pleasing arts, which administer only to amusement, were quite unknown in this country in these ancient times. For it seems to be reasonable to suppose that mankind would not engage in the pursuit of pleasures, until they had provided necessities; nor begin to cultivate the fine and ornamental arts, before they had brought the useful ones to some good degree of perfection. In a word, we may be apt to imagine, that until men were commodiously lodged, comfortably clothed, and plentifully fed, they would neither have leisure nor inclination to amuse themselves with sculpture and painting, nor to divert themselves with poetry and music. But all these fine reasonings are contradicted by experience, and the ancient history of all nations. From thence it appears, that the merely pleasing arts were cultivated as early and as eagerly in every country as those which are most necessary; and that mankind, every where, began as soon to seek the means of amusement as of subsistence¹⁵⁷. The ancient

¹⁵⁷ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, p. 161. Mœurs des Sauvages, l. 2. p. 44.

inhabitants of this island did not differ from the rest of mankind in this respect; and when we look attentively into the few remaining monuments of their history, we shall be convinced that they applied to some of the pleasing arts with the greatest fondness, and with no inconsiderable success.

It hath been often and justly observed, that mankind have naturally a taste for imitation; and that from this taste some of their most innocent pleasures and amusements, and the arts which administer to them are derived. Of this kind are the two imitative arts of sculpture and painting; the one of which exhibits a solid, and the other a superficial imitation of material objects. As these two arts proceed from a natural propensity which exerts itself with a surprising energy in some persons without any instruction, they are, and always have been very universal, and some traces of them may be discovered among the most savage and uncultivated nations¹⁵⁸. We have good reason therefore to believe in general, that these arts were practised by the ancient Britons before they were subdued and instructed by the Romans; but as we have no remaining monuments to prove that they had any remarkable genius for them, or had made any distinguished progress in them, a very short view of them will be sufficient, that we may

Imitative
arts uni-
versal.

¹⁵⁸ Voyage de J. de Lery, p. 277. Lescarbot. Hist. de Nouvel France, p. 692.

have

have room to consider at a great length the other two pleasing arts of poetry and music, in which we know they greatly delighted and excelled.

Sculpture. The idea of forming images of men and other animals of clay, wax, and other soft substances, which are easily moulded into any form, is so natural and obvious, that the practice of it hath been very ancient and universal¹⁵⁹. We have seen already that the ancient Britons were not unacquainted with the useful part of the potter's art; it is therefore very natural to suppose that some of them who had a strong taste for imitation, would make little images, or figures of men and other creatures, of clay, and harden them as they did their earthen ware. To this they would be prompted by their natural taste, their desire of displaying their ingenuity, and of amusing themselves and others¹⁶⁰. When they had arrived at some dexterity at working in wood, they began to adorn these works with various figures; particularly their war-chariots, which were curiously carved, and on which they lavished all their art¹⁶¹. As the ancient Britons excelled in wicker-works, and their baskets were sent to Rome, where they were much admired; so they employed this art in forming works of imitation¹⁶². For we have not the least reason to

¹⁵⁹ Origin of Laws, Arts and Sciences, v. 1. p. 165.

¹⁶⁰ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 12.

¹⁶¹ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 11.

¹⁶² Musgrave *Belgium Britannicum*, p. 166, 167.

doubt,

doubt, but that they, as well as the Gauls, made those huge colossal images of wicker, described by Cæsar, for the horrid purpose of human sacrifices ¹⁶³. We are quite ignorant whether the ancient Britons understood or practised the arts of casting figures of metals, or of cutting them on stones, nothing of this kind which can with certainty be ascribed to them being now extant. For that human figure which is cut on the face of a rock at Rivingham in Northumberland, though it is believed by some to be British on account of the coarseness of the work, is unquestionably Roman ¹⁶⁴. It is most probable that they were unpractised in these arts, and that they were restrained from the cultivation of them by the principles of their religion, which prohibited the use of statues and images in their temples ¹⁶⁵. In the description which is given by Tacitus of the destruction of the Druids in the Isle of Anglesey, with their groves, altars, and sacred fires, there is not the least hint of any statues or images of their Gods ¹⁶⁶. Cæsar indeed observes, that the Gauls had many statues in their temples, particularly of Mercury ¹⁶⁷. But this was probably an innovation to which the Britons were strangers before the Roman invasion.

¹⁶³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16.

¹⁶⁴ Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 239.

¹⁶⁵ Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 120.

¹⁶⁶ Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 30.

¹⁶⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 17.

Statues.

After the authority of the Druids was destroyed, and that of the Romans established, the use of statues was effectually introduced into the temples, and publick and private houses in this island. For the Romans were at that period so extravagantly fond of statues, that Rome was in a manner peopled with them; and they abounded in all the great cities of their empire¹⁶⁸. When Roman colonies, towns, and stations were built in Britain, we may be certain that they were adorned, or rather crowded, (according to the custom of that people,) with the statues of gods, heroes, and other great men. To provide all these statues for adoration and ornament, colleges or corporations of statuaries were established in many places of the empire, and particularly in Britain¹⁶⁹.

Few of
them re-
maining.

Of all that prodigious multitude of statues with which the Roman temples, and other public and private buildings in this island, were adorned, there are very few now remaining; and these few mutilated and of little value. The introduction of Christianity occasioned the destruction of many of those which had been the objects of idolatrous worship; which were either broke in pieces, or neglected and left exposed to all injuries. “The Deities (says Gildas) of the Britons, before their conversion to Christianity, or rather the devils which they worshipped, almost exceeded those of Egypt in number:

¹⁶⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 12.¹⁶⁹ Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 342.

“ some

“ some of whose statues we still see both within
 “ and without the walls of their deserted
 “ temples ¹⁷⁰.” The Romans, at their departure,
 probably carried off some of those pieces of
 sculpture that were most admired ; and great
 numbers of them, together with the edifices
 which they adorned, were destroyed by the Scots
 and Picts in their incursions, and by the Saxons
 in their long wars. The few pieces which have
 escaped all these accidents and the injuries of
 time, and are now preserved with care in the
 repositories of the curious, are chiefly figures cut
 on altars, and other stones, in Basso and Alto
 Relievo ¹⁷¹. Some of these are in a fine and deli-
 cate taste ; but the greatest number of them
 plainly indicate that the sculptor’s art was on the
 decline when they were cut.

Painting is another of the pleasing and imita-
 tive arts, which represents visible objects on
 smooth surfaces, by lines and colours. Some
 rude beginnings of this art have been discovered
 among the most savage nations ¹⁷² ; and the first
 essays of it were certainly very ancient in this
 island. There is not any one circumstance relat-
 ing to the ancient Britons which is better attested,
 or more frequently mentioned by the Greek and
 Latin writers, than that of their body-painting ¹⁷³.

Painting
 of their
 bodies.

¹⁷⁰ Gildæ Hist. c. 2.

¹⁷¹ Horsley’s Brit. Rom. b. 2. c. 1, 2.

¹⁷² Voyage de J. Lery, p. 277. Mœurs de Sauvages, l. 2. p. 44.

¹⁷³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.
 Pomp. Mela, l. 3. c. 6. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 22. c. 1. Solin. c. 35.
 Herodian. l. 3. c. 47. Isidor. Orig. l. 19. c. 23.

Cæsar and Pliny speak of this painting as consisting of one uniform colour, spread over the whole body. “ All the Britons in general stain themselves with woad, which makes their skins of a blue colour. The British women, both married and unmarried, besmear their whole bodies with the juice of the herb called Glaſtum, (woad,) and so appear quite naked at some of their religious solemnities, resembling Æthiopians in colour ¹⁷⁴.” This operation of rubbing or besmearing the whole body with the juice of one herb, is so simple, that it hardly deserves the name of art. But other writers represent this body-painting of the ancient Britons as performed in a more artificial manner; and consisting of a variety of figures of beasts, birds, trees, herbs, and other things, drawn on the skin, or on the above colour as a ground. “ The Britons draw upon their naked bodies the figures of animals of all kinds, which they esteem so great an ornament, that they wear no clothes, that these figures may be exposed to view ¹⁷⁵.” We learn from other authors, that this body-painting was a distinct trade or profession in those times; and that these artists began their work, by making the intended figures upon the skin with the punctures of sharp needles, that it might imbibe and retain the colouring matter ¹⁷⁶. This is said to have been a very painful

¹⁷⁴ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 22. c. 1.

¹⁷⁵ Herodian, l. 3. c. 47.

¹⁷⁶ Solinus, l. 35. sub fin.

operation ; and those were esteemed the bravest fellows who bore it with the greatest fortitude ; who received the deepest punctures, and imbibed the greatest quantity of paint ¹⁷⁷. When these figures were made on the body in childhood, as they commonly were, they grew and enlarged with it, and continued upon it through life ¹⁷⁸. Persons of inferior rank had but a few of these figures, of a small size, and coarse workmanship, painted on their bodies ; but those of better families had them in greater numbers, of larger dimensions, and more elegantly executed, according to their different degrees of nobility ¹⁷⁹. “ The name of the Picts corresponds very well “ with the appearance of their bodies. For “ they squeeze the juice of certain herbs into “ figures made on their bodies with the points of “ needles ; and so carry the badges of their nobility on their spotted skins ¹⁸⁰. ” As both sexes painted, we have reason to suppose that the British ladies would not be sparing of these fine figures on their bodies, which were at once esteemed so honourable and ornamental. “ Have “ you not seen in Thrace (where this practice of “ body-painting prevailed) many ladies of high “ rank having their bodies almost covered with “ figures ? Those who are most honourable, “ and descended of the best families, have the

¹⁷⁷ Solinus, l. 35. sub fin.

¹⁷⁸ Id. *ibid.* Claudian. de Bello Getico, v. 435.

¹⁷⁹ Ammian. Marcellin, l. 31. c. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Isidor. Orig. l. 19. c. 23.

“greatest number and variety of these figures¹⁸¹.” Some writers have been of opinion, that several royal and noble families derived their family names from those animals and other things which their ancestors had painted on their bodies.

Painting
their
shields.

In proportion as clothes came into use among the ancient Britons, this practice of body-painting declined; and as soon as they were completely clothed, it was wholly laid aside. But the art of painting did not suffer any thing by that change. For, in order to preserve their family distinctions, and the ancient badges of their nobility, they then painted the same figures of various animals and other things on their shields, which they had formerly painted on their bodies¹⁸². The art of painting even gradually improved; and those figures which had been painted of one colour only on their bodies, were painted of various colours, in imitation of life, on their shields¹⁸³. The Gauls had made still greater progress than the Britons or Germans in this art of adorning their shields; for some of their greatest men had these figures of animals cast in brass and inlaid, which made them serve for a further security to their persons, as well as for badges of their nobility¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸¹ Dio. Chrysost. Orat. 14. p. 233, 234. Pelloutier Histoire de Celtes, l. 1. p. 294.

¹⁸² Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 44. p. 292.

¹⁸³ Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 6.

¹⁸⁴ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 30. p. 353.

Whatever skill the ancient Britons had acquired in the art of painting before they were subdued by the Romans, we have good reason to believe that they were much improved in it by the instructions and example of these ingenious conquerors; who, at that period, greatly delighted and excelled in that art. Whoever will take the trouble to read the third and fourth chapters of the 35th book of Pliny's Natural History, will have an opportunity of seeing how early the art of painting was introduced into Rome; how eagerly and successfully it was cultivated there, not only by professed artists, but even by some of the most illustrious heroes of that republic; and how greatly all who excelled in it were encouraged¹⁸⁵. By these means the art of painting, in all its branches, was brought to great perfection: and not only the temples, theatres, and other public buildings at Rome, and in the provinces, had their walls and ceilings painted in the most exquisite manner; but the private apartments of the wealthy Romans were adorned with the most beautiful and costly pictures¹⁸⁶. It is not to be imagined, therefore, that the people of Britain, who were not destitute of a natural taste for painting, could behold so many beautiful pictures, and observe the manner in which they were executed, without making improvements in this art. It is very probable that among the great multitude of artificers carried out of Britain

Painting
improved
after the
Roman
conquest.

¹⁸⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 3, 4.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. l. 35. c. 7.

A. D. 296, by the emperor Constantius, to assist in building and adorning his favourite city of Autun, there were sculptors and painters, as well as architects ¹⁸⁷.

Poetry.

There is not any one circumstance in the history of the ancient Britons more surprising than that of their early and admirable taste for poetry. This taste (which they had in common with the other Celtic nations) exerted itself in a very conspicuous manner, long before they had made any considerable progress in the most necessary arts ¹⁸⁸. At a time when they were almost naked, and without tolerable lodgings; when they chiefly depended on what they caught in hunting for their subsistence, they composed the most sublime and beautiful poems, of various kinds, on many different subjects ¹⁸⁹.

Origin of poetry.

It hath been often enquired what it was that made the ancient Britons, and other ancient nations, begin so early, and delight so much to express themselves in the lofty and figurative language of poetry, rather than in the plain and easy style of prose. To this, some have imagined, they were prompted by the ardour of their devout affections, the warmth of their love and gratitude to the Supreme Being; and that in consequence of this, their first poetical compositions were sacred hymns to the honour of the

¹⁸⁷ Eumen. Penegyr. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes, l. 2. c. 10.

¹⁸⁹ Poems of Ossian, 2 vols. London 1762, 1763.

Deity ¹⁹⁰. Others have supposed that poetry was the child of love; and that the beauties of the fair sex were the subjects of the most ancient poems; while many have been of opinion, that the love of fame, and a passionate desire of painting their own great actions or those of their princes and patrons in the strongest colours, inspired the first poets ¹⁹¹. It cannot be denied, that these and all the other passions of the human heart, when they are very much inflamed, are apt to break out in bold, daring, and if you please, poetical expressions; but they are no less apt to disdain the restraints of harmony, rhyme, and measure, and to violate all the rules of regular composition. Besides, though we should allow that the ardour of their various passions (which are subject to few restraints in the first stages of society) inspired their sacred hymns, their love sonnets, their flattering panegyrics, their biting satires, and their mournful elegies; this will not account for their many poetical compositions on history, divinity, morality, philosophy, and law, in which passion had no share ¹⁹². We must therefore look for some more powerful and universal cause of this universal practice of all ancient nations, of making all their compositions in verse. This cause was probably no other than necessity, the mother of many of the most noble and useful inventions.

¹⁹⁰ M. Rollin *Belles Lettres*, l. 1. p. 289.

¹⁹¹ *Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*, v. 1. p. 342, 343.

¹⁹² *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 14.

Before the use of letters and writing is introduced into a country, it is impossible for any of its inhabitants to engage the public attention to his thoughts on any subject, to have them circulated among his cotemporaries, and transmitted to posterity, but by clothing them in melodious numbers, and adorning them with the charms of poetry¹⁹³. This is the only thing that can engage and enable men to commit compositions of any length to their own memories, or to teach them to their children. It is not perhaps naturally, but it is certainly morally impossible, that so long a work as that of Ossian's poems, for example, could have been preserved through so many ages, without ever having been committed to writing, if it had been composed in the plain, simple, unadorned style of prose. But the melodious sounds of poetry are so agreeable to the ear, its bold figures and beautiful descriptions so pleasing to the imagination, and its pathetic expressions of love, joy, grief, terror, and other passions, so affecting to the heart, that in a certain period of society it becomes one of the chief amusements of narrative age to repeat them, and one of the highest entertainments of ingenuous youth to hear them, and commit them to memory.

Various
kinds of
poetry.

As these observations account for the early introduction and great popularity of poetry among the ancient Britons, so they account also for the many different kinds of their poetical compo-

¹⁹³ Pelloutier *Histoire des Celtes*, l. 2. c. 10. p. 384.

sitions. Before the use of letters, the language on all important occasions was poetical; every thing that was intended to be generally known, or long remembered; every thing, in a word, except the mere chit-chat of common conversation, was expressed in some kind of verse or numbers ¹⁹⁴. It was even long after the introduction of letters into several countries of Europe, and probably into Britain, before any thing but poetry was thought worthy of being written. It may not therefore be improper to give a brief detail of some of the different kinds of the poetical compositions of the ancient Britons, with short specimens of a few of them.

That they composed hymns to the honour of their Gods, which they sung at their sacrifices and other religious solemnities, we have not the least reason to doubt ¹⁹⁵. For this was the uniform practice of all the Celtic nations; and it was the peculiar province of one of the orders of their priests to compose and sing these sacred hymns ¹⁹⁶. We have no reason to be surprised that none of the sacred hymns of the ancient Britons are now extant, since they were never committed to writing, and so many ages have elapsed since their religion was destroyed.

Sacred
hymns.

The speculative principles and moral precepts, as well as the devotional exercises of the religion of the ancient Britons, were couched in verse;

Theologi-
cal, philo-
sophical,
and juridi-
cal poems.

¹⁹⁴ Pelloutier *Histoire des Celtes*, l. 1, p. 368. 384. Isidor. Orig. l. 1, c. 27.

¹⁹⁵ Diod. Sicul. l. 2, § 47, p. 158. Tacit. de morib. German. c. 2.

¹⁹⁶ Dr. M^cPherson's *Dissertations*, p. 203. 207.

and

and constituted a part of that extensive poetical system of erudition, in which the Druids instructed their disciples¹⁹⁶. All the different parts of their natural philosophy, astronomy and mathematics, were clothed in the same dress; and they composed many long poems, not only concerning the nature and will of the Gods, but also concerning the nature of things, the magnitude of the world, the form, magnitude, and motion of the heavenly bodies, &c.¹⁹⁷ Even their laws, and those of all the other ancient nations of Europe, though they may seem to be a very improper subject for poetry, were preserved and taught in the same manner. Nay, it is said to have been one of the first things in which they instructed their youth, to repeat and sing the laws of their country, that if they violated them, they might not pretend ignorance¹⁹⁸. The poems which they composed on these and other subjects relating to religion and learning, were so numerous, that some of their youth spent no fewer than twenty years in committing them to memory¹⁹⁹.

Historical
poems.

The history and annals of the ancient Britons, and of the other Celtic nations, were composed in verse, and sung to the music of the harp²⁰⁰. As soon

¹⁹⁶ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

¹⁹⁷ Id. ibid. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

¹⁹⁸ Ælian Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 39.

¹⁹⁹ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

²⁰⁰ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 2. Strabo, l. 1. p. 18. M. Malley
Introduction à l'histoire de Danne marc, p. 242.

as a king or chieftain had resolved on a military expedition, he made choice of some famous poet or poets to attend his person; to behold, record, and celebrate his great exploits, in the most magnificent and flattering strains. Possidonius of Apamea says, in the twenty-third book of his history, "That it is the custom of all the Celtic
 "princes when they go to war, to carry with them
 "a certain number of poets, who eat at their
 "tables, and sing their praises to the people,
 "who gather around them in crowds"²⁰¹." Many of the poems of Ossian, the renowned Caledonian bard, are poetical histories of the martial expeditions of his illustrious father Fingal, his son Oscar, and other heroes²⁰². From these historical songs, the historians of several countries composed the most ancient parts of their respective histories.

Heroic poems, or poems in praise of the kings, heroes, and great men of their country, were the favourite works of the ancient British bards, in which they employed all their art, and exerted all their genius. "The bards (says Ammianus
 "Marcellinus) celebrate the brave actions of
 "illustrious men in heroic poems, which they
 "sing to the sweet sounds of the lyre"²⁰³." Two of these heroic poems, the works of an ancient British bard, are still extant, and have lately appeared in an English dress, and been illustrated

Heroic
poems.

²⁰¹ Athanasius, l. 6. c. 12.

²⁰² Ossian's Poems, passim. Keating's Hist. of Ireland, p. 132.

²⁰³ Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

by

by a criticism, not unworthy of such beautiful and precious remains of antiquity²⁰⁴. The preservation of these two admirable poems through more than thirteen centuries, merely by memory and tradition, is a sufficient proof of the prodigious fondness of the Caledonian Britons, and of their posterity, for such poetical compositions.

Satirical
poems.

Though the praise of heroes was the most frequent and favourite theme of the ancient British bards; yet they sometimes composed satirical pieces against the enemies of their country. “The bards” (says Diodorus Siculus) are excellent and melodious poets, and sing their poems in which they praise some, and satirize others, to the music of an instrument not unlike a lyre²⁰⁵.” There are very few of these satirical strokes in the works of the humane and generous Ossian, whose soul delighted in the praise of heroes; but they became more frequent in the poems of succeeding bards, which at length made them forfeit the public esteem and favour which they had long enjoyed, and exposed them to universal contempt and hatred²⁰⁶.

War songs
of different
kinds.

As war was the great business and chief delight of the ancient British princes, so it was one of the most frequent subjects of the songs of their

²⁰⁴ See Fingal and Temora, in Ossian's Works. Dr. Blair's Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian. In this dissertation, and in the Translator's prefaces, the reader will find the genuineness of Ossian's Poems fully established.

²⁰⁵ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354.

²⁰⁶ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 112. note 2.

poets.

poets. For it was their opinion that martial songs enlivened war, supported the yielding fight, and inflamed the courage of the combatants²⁰⁷. Sometimes, indeed, when the bards did not approve of war, they sung such mild pacific strains as calmed the rage of two hostile armies ready to engage, and brought about a peace. "They pay a great regard to their bards or poets in the affairs of peace, but still greater in those of war. Sometimes, when two armies have been standing in order of battle, with swords drawn and lances extended, on the point of engaging in a most furious conflict, these poets have stepped in between them, and by their sweet persuasive songs have calmed their fury like that of wild beasts. Thus, even among these fierce barbarians, rage gave way to wisdom, and Mars yielded to the Muses²⁰⁸."

But the ancient British bards more frequently employed the power and influence of their art to increase than to extinguish the flames of war and the rage of battle. They were the heralds who proclaimed war and challenged the enemy to fight, and this harsh office they performed in songs. "I sent (says Ossian) the bard, with songs, to call the foe to fight²⁰⁹." They composed those martial songs that were sung by the troops as they advanced to the charge, to

For inflaming the
fury of the
combatants;

²⁰⁷ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 56.

²⁰⁸ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354.

²⁰⁹ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 163.

rouse their own courage, and to strike terror into their enemies ²¹⁰. These songs were called *Barditi*, from their authors the bards. The troops began to sing these in a low key, and as they advanced they raised their voices higher and higher, until at last they uttered the most dreadful and terrifying sounds ²¹¹.

for rous-
ing their
courage.

When their friends were hard pressed, and in danger of giving way, the bards endeavoured to revive their spirits and courage by their songs; of which the reader may take the following song of a famous bard to a British hero, when he was in danger of being overcome by his enemy, as a specimen: “Son of the chief of generous steeds.
“High-bounden king of spears. Strong arm
“in every perilous toil. Hard heart that never
“yields. Chief of the pointed arms of death.
“Cut down the foe. Be thine arm like thun-
“der. Thine eyes like fire. Thy heart of solid
“rock. Whirl round thy sword as a meteor at
“night, and lift thy shield like the flame of
“death. Son of the chief of generous steeds!
“cut down the foe. Destroy—The hero’s heart
“beat high ²¹².”

Elegiac
poems.

When brave and good princes or chieftains fell in battle, the bards bewailed their fall in such mournful and pathetic strains as these:

²¹⁰ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 3.

²¹¹ Id. ibid. Ammianus Marcel. l. 17. c. 13.—This kind of poem, or war-song, was called *Brofnuha Cath*, that is to say, inspiration to war. Dr. McPherson’s Dissertations, p. 221.

²¹² Ossian’s Poems, v. i. p. 56.

“Weep,

“ Weep, ye daughters of Morven, and ye maids
 “ of the streamy Loda! Like a tree they grew
 “ on the hills, and they have fallen like the
 “ oak of the defart, when it lies across a stream;
 “ and withers in the wind of the mountain.
 “ Oscar! chief of every youth; thou seest how
 “ they have fallen. Be thou, like them, on earth
 “ renowned. Like them the song of bards.
 “ Terrible were their forms in battle; but calm
 “ was Ryno, in the days of peace—Rest, young-
 “ est of my sons, rest, O Ryno, on Lena. We
 “ too must be no more: for the warrior one day
 “ must fall²¹³.” But such a noble sense had
 these ancient British bards of the dignity of
 song, and of the sacred laws of truth, that they
 declined to adorn the fall of the greatest princes
 with their lamentations, if they had been guilty
 of any thing unbecoming heroes. “ An hundred
 “ heroes reared the tomb of Cairbar; but no song
 “ is raised over the chief, for his soul had been
 “ dark and bloody. The bards remembered the
 “ fall of Carmac! What could they say in Cair-
 “ bar’s praise²¹⁴?”

The victories of their kings and heroes were
 celebrated by the bards in the most sublime and
 joyous strains²¹⁵. When a British chief returned
 from a successful expedition, he entered the place
 of his residence in a kind of triumph, followed by

Triumphal
songs.

²¹³ Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 70.

²¹⁴ Id. *ibid.* v. 2. p. 17.

²¹⁵ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 29. p. 352.

his troops, and preceded by all his bards, singing the song of victory. How beautiful is the following song of victory, which was sung before the renowned Fingal, at one of his triumphant entries into Selma, about sun-set. “Hast thou
 “left thy blue course in heaven, golden-haired
 “son of the sky! The West hath opened its
 “gates; the bed of thy repose is there. The
 “waves come to behold thy beauty; they lift
 “their trembling heads; they see thee lovely in
 “thy sleep; but they shrink away with fear.
 “Rest in thy shadowy cave, O son! and let thy
 “return be with joy.—But let a thousand lights
 “arise to the sound of the harps of Selma: let
 “the beam spread in the hall, the king of Shells
 “is returned! The strife of Crona is past, like
 “sounds that are no more: raise the song.
 “O Bards! the king is returned with his
 “fame”²¹⁶.”

Dying
songs.

So great was the fondness of the ancient Britons for poetry, and so much were they accustomed to express their thoughts on all great occasions in verse, that they sometimes composed verses, and sung them in their dying moments²¹⁷.
 “He fell, like the bank of a mountain stream;
 “stretched out his arm and said—Daughter of
 “Cormac-Cairbar, thou hast slain Duchomar!

²¹⁶ Ossian's Poems, v. I. p. 193, 194.

²¹⁷ Qualis Olor noto positurus littore vitam,
 Ingemit, et mæstis mulcens concentibus auras
 Præfago queritur venientia funera cantu.

“The

“ The sword is cold in my breast: Morna, I
 “ feel it cold. Give me to Moina the maid:
 “ Duchomar was the dream of her night. She
 “ will raise my tomb; and the hunter shall see
 “ it, and praise me. But draw the sword from
 “ my breast; Morna, the steel is cold ²¹⁸. ”

Next to the martial feats of heroes, the charms
 of the fair, and the cares and joys of virtuous
 love, were the most frequent and delightful sub-
 jects of the songs of the ancient British bards.
 Their descriptions of female beauty are always
 short and delicate; expressive of the modesty and
 innocence of the ladies' minds, as well as of the
 charms of their persons. “ Half hid in her

Love
 songs.

“ shady groves, Roscrana raised the song. Her
 “ white hands rose on the harp. I beheld her
 “ blue-rolling eyes. She was like a spirit of
 “ heaven half-folded in the skirt of a cloud.—
 “ She rose bright amidst my troubled soul.—
 “ Cormac beheld me dark.—He gave the white-
 “ bosomed maid.—She came with bending eye,
 “ amidst the wandering of her heavenly looks—
 “ she came ²¹⁹. ” How tender, pure, and passionate
 are the following strains of an ancient British
 chieftain; expressing his wedded love to his ab-
 sent queen! “ O! strike the harp in praise of
 “ my love, the lonely sun-beam of Dunscach.
 “ Strike the harp in the praise of Bragela, she

²¹⁸ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 9.—See the Dying Ode of Regner
 Lodbrog, in Pieces of Runic Poetry. London, 1763.

²¹⁹ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 67, 68.

“ that I left in the Isle of Mist, the spouse of
 “ Semo’s son. Dost thou raise thy fair face from
 “ the rock to find the fails of Cuchullin?—The
 “ sea is rolling far distant, and its white foam
 “ shall deceive thee for my fails. Retire, for it
 “ is night, my love, and the dark winds sigh in
 “ thy hair. Retire to the halls of my feasts, and
 “ think of the times that are past: for I will not
 “ return till the storm of war is ceased. O! Con-
 “ nal, speak of wars and arms, and send her from
 “ my mind, for lovely with her raven-hair is the
 “ white-bosomed daughter of Sorglan ²²⁰.” So
 strict was the connection between love and poetry
 in these times, that their courtships were com-
 monly carried on in verse; and what is now
 esteemed an absurdity on the stage, was then
 acted in real life. Some of these poetical court-
 ships are still preserved in history, and in the works
 of ancient bards ²²¹.

Festal
 songs.

The ancient British poets composed songs for
 increasing the mirth of feasts, beguiling the te-
 diousness of journies, and of labour; and for
 many other occasions ²²². But it would be improp-
 er to pursue this detail any further. For every
 incident of any consequence, either in peace or war
 was made the subject of a poem.

Beauties
 of the an-
 cient Bri-
 tish poetry.

We have not a sufficient number of these poems,
 composed by different poets in this most ancient

²²⁰ Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 18.

²²¹ M. Malley Introduction à l’Histoire de Dannemarc, p. 202;

²²³ Ossian’s Poems, v. 2. p. 60. note.

²²² Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes, l. 2. c. 9. p. 355 to 363.

period, now extant ; nor a sufficient knowledge of the language in which they were written, to enable us to form a judgment of all their various properties, excellencies, and defects. But if we may judge of them from the poems of Ossian, and a few others, as they appear in a translation, they were truly admirable, and abounded in all the natural and genuine beauties of poetry. How lively and picturesque are the descriptions of Ossian, both of terrible and amiable objects ? How full of dreadful images is the following description of a combat between an intrepid mortal and an ærial being ? “ Cormar was the first of
 “ my race. He sported through the storms of
 “ the waves. His black skiff bounded on ocean,
 “ and travelled on the wings of the blast. A
 “ spirit once embroiled the night. Seas swell
 “ and rocks resound. Winds drive along the
 “ clouds. The lightning flies on wings of fire.
 “ He feared, and came to land : then blushed
 “ that he feared at all. He rushed again among
 “ the waves to find the son of the wind. Three
 “ youths guide the bounding bark ; he stood with
 “ his sword unsheathed. When the low-hung
 “ vapour passed, he took it by the curling head,
 “ and searched its dark womb with his steel.
 “ The son of the wind forsook the air. The
 “ moon and stars returned ²²³.” How beautiful is the following description of the lovely Agen-

²²³ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 39.

decca? “ Ullin, Fingal’s bard, was there ; the
 “ sweet voice of the hill of Cona. He praised
 “ the daughter of the snow, and Morven’s high
 “ descended chief. The daughter of the snow
 “ everheard, and left the hall of her secret sigh.
 “ She came in all her beauty, like the moon
 “ from her cloud in the east. Loveliness was
 “ around her as light. Her steps were like the
 “ music of songs. She saw the youth and loved
 “ him. He was the stolen sigh of her soul. Her
 “ blue eye rolled on him in secret, and she blest
 “ the chief of Morven ²²⁴. ”

Similies.

There is hardly any thing in which poets discover the richness of their fancy, and greatness of their genius, more clearly, than in the beauty and variety of their similies or comparisons : and it may be justly affirmed, that no poets ever excelled the ancient British bards in this respect, if we may judge of them by their remains. The poems of Ossian abound more in similies, than those of any other poet, either ancient or modern ; and many of these similies are not inferior in beauty to the most admired ones in the most celebrated poets. There is no simile in Homer, Virgil, or any other poet, that hath been more universally admired than the famous one in Mr. Addison’s Campaigne ; in which a general, in the heat and rage of battle, is compared to an angel

²²⁴ Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p 37.
 Poems of Ossian, p. 51 to 63.

Dr. Blair’s Dissertation on the

riding in a whirlwind and directing a storm²²⁵. But the following one, in the works of Ossian, on the same subject, will probably be thought by many still more poetical. “ He rushed in the
 “ found of his arms, like the dreadful spirit of
 “ Loda, when he comes in the roar of a thou-
 “ sand storms, and scatters battles from his
 “ eyes²²⁶. ”

The true sublime, in sentiment and diction, is the greatest glory of the greatest poets; and in this few, if any, ever excelled Ossian. The genius, the situation, and the subjects of this illustrious bard, were all more favourable to the sublime than to any other species of poetical excellence. “ Accuracy and correctness, artfully
 “ connected narration, exact method and pro-
 “ portion of parts, we may look for in polished
 “ times. The gay and the beautiful will appear
 “ to more advantage in the midst of smiling
 “ scenery and pleasurable themes. But amidst
 “ the rude scenes of nature, amidst rocks, and
 “ torrents, and whirlwinds, and battles, dwells
 “ the sublime. It is the thunder and lightning
 “ of genius; it is the offspring of nature, not of

Sublime in
 sentiment
 and dic-
 tion.

²²⁵ So when an angel, by divine command,
 With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
 Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
 Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
 And, pleas'd the Almighty's order to perform,
 Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

Addison's Works, vol. 1.

²²⁶ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 151.

“ art ²¹⁷.” The following description and speech of the spirit of Loda, is one example of the true sublime, out of many that might be given from the works of Ossian: “ A blast came from the
 “ mountain, and bore on its wings the spirit of
 “ Loda. He came to his place in his terrors,
 “ and he shook his dusky spear. His eyes ap-
 “ pear like flames in his dark face; and his voice
 “ is like distant thunder.—The people bend be-
 “ fore me. I turn the battle in the field of the
 “ valiant. I look on the nations, and they va-
 “ nish: my nostrils pour the blast of death. I
 “ come abroad on the winds: the tempests are
 “ before my face. The blasts are in the hollow
 “ of my hand: the course of the storm is mine.
 “ But my dwelling is calm, above the clouds:
 “ the fields of my rest are pleasant ²¹⁸.”

Verifica-
 tion.

The ancient poets of Britain, and of the other nations of Europe, are said to have used a prodigious variety of measures, and many different kinds of versification, in their poetical compositions. Olaus Wormius informs us, that the ancient Scalds, or poets of Scandinavia, made use of one hundred and thirty-six different kinds of measure in their verses ²¹⁹; and a learned Welshman hath enumerated and explained many different modes of versification that were used by the bards of his country, from the sixth century downwards, and

²¹⁷ Dr. Blair's Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, p. 68.

²¹⁸ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 199, 200.

²¹⁹ Olaus Wormius de literatura Runica, in Append.

probably

probably in more ancient times²³⁰. Many of these measures depended neither on metrical feet, like the versification of the Greeks and Romans, nor on rhyme, like that of the modern nations of Europe; but on various alliterations, and on the number and musical disposition of the syllables; of which we may form some imperfect idea from our English blank verse. All these different modes of versification, it is said, were admirably adapted to assist the memory, inasmuch that if one line of a stanza was remembered, it became easy to recollect all the rest²³¹. “The British poetry, as well as the language, hath a peculiarity which perhaps no other language in the world hath; so that the British poets in all ages, and to this day, call their art *Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, i. e. the secret of the poets. Knowing this art of the poets, it is impossible that any one word of the language which is to be found in poetry, should be pronounced in any other manner than is there used; so that without a transformation of the whole language, not one word could be altered²³².” Though Olaus Wormius expressly says, that the Scalds or poets of the North never made use of rhyme²³³; and though the learned Pelloutier had never met with any writer

²³⁰ Dr. John David Rhy's *Cambro-britannicæ Linguae Institutiones*. London, 1592. See also Lhuyd's *Archeologia Britannica*, p. 304—310.

²³¹ Carte's *Hist. of England*, v. i. p. 33.

²³² Mr. Lewis Morris apud Carte, *ibid*.

²³³ Olaus Wormius *de literatura Runica*, in *Append.*

who

who so much as insinuated that rhyme was used by any of the Celtic poets²³⁴; yet it plainly appears, from the remains of Ossian, that this mode of versification, which hath been generally esteemed a Gothic or Monkish invention, was frequently used by the most ancient British bards²³⁵.

British
poets.

Having given this brief history of British poetry, it may not be improper to give a short account of the British poets of this period, which we are now delineating. These poets appear to have been divided into two classes: the first class comprehending their sacred poets, who composed and sung their religious hymns; and were called in Greek, Eubates; in Latin, Vates; and in their own language, Faids²³⁶; the second comprehending all their secular poets, “who sung of
“the battles of heroes, or the heaving breasts of
“love,” and were called Bards²³⁷. As enough hath been already said of the Faids in another place²³⁸, it only remains to give some account of the Bards.

Bards.

The word Bard being a primitive noun, neither derived nor compounded, it can neither be traced to its root, nor resolved into its parts. It signi-

²³⁴ Pelloutier *Histoire des Celtes*, l. 1. p. 360.

²³⁵ The Original of the 7th book of *Temora* in Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 228. 235. 238. 241. 244.

²³⁶ Dr. McPherson's *Dissertations*, p. 199, &c.

²³⁷ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 37.

²³⁸ See Chap. II.

fied one who was a poet by his genius and profession; and who employed much of his time in composing and singing verses on many various subjects and occasions²³⁹. The Bards constituted one of the most respected orders of men in the ancient British states; and many of the greatest kings, heroes, and nobles esteemed it an honour to be enrolled in this order²⁴⁰. They enjoyed, by law and custom, many honourable distinctions and valuable privileges. Kings and princes made choice of Bards to be their bosom friends and constant companions; indulged them with the greatest familiarity, and gave them the most flattering titles²⁴¹. Their persons were held sacred and inviolable; and the most cruel and bloody tyrants dared not to offer them any injury. The cruel Cairbar, who had murdered the royal Cormac with his own hand, durst proceed no further than to imprison his Bards. “He feared to stretch his sword to the Bards, though his soul was dark²⁴².” He was even bitterly reproached by his heroic brother Cathmor, for having proceeded so far. “The noble Cathmor came—He heard our voice from the cave; he turned the eye of his wrath on Cairbair. Chief of Atha! he said, how long wilt thou pain my soul? Thy heart is like the rock of the desert,

²³⁹ Dr. M^cPherson’s *Dissertations*, p. 209.

²⁴⁰ Dr. Brown’s *Dissertation on Poetry and Music*, p. 157, &c.

²⁴¹ Keating’s *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 48.

²⁴² *Ossian’s Poems*, v. 2. p. 22

“ and

“and thy thoughts are dark. Cairbar, loose the
 “Bards; they are the sons of other times. Their
 “voice shall be heard in other years, after the
 “kings of Temora have failed²⁴³.” The Bards,
 as well as the Druids, were exempted from taxes
 and military services, even in times of the greatest
 danger; and when they attended their patrons in
 the field, to record and celebrate their great
 actions, they had a guard assigned them for their
 protection²⁴⁴. At all festivals and public assem-
 blies they were seated near the person of the king
 or chieftain, and sometimes even above the
 greatest nobility and chief officers of the court²⁴⁵.
 Nor was the profession of the Bards less lucrative
 than it was honourable. For, besides the valuable
 presents which they occasionally received from
 their patrons, when they gave them uncommon
 pleasure by their performances, they had estates in
 land allotted for their support²⁴⁶. Nay, so great
 was the veneration which the princes of these times
 entertained for the persons of their poets, and so
 highly were they charmed and delighted with their
 tuneful strains, that they sometimes pardoned even
 their capital crimes for a song²⁴⁷.

Bards very
 numerous.

We may very reasonably suppose, that a pro-
 fession that was at once so honourable and advan-
 tageous, and enjoyed so many flattering distinc-

²⁴³ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 22.

²⁴⁴ Brown's Dissertation, p. 161. Mr. Malley's Introduction
 à l'Histoire de Dannemarc, p. 242. ²⁴⁵ Id. ibid. p. 240.

²⁴⁶ Id. ibid. p. 241. Keating's Hist. Ireland, p. 132, &c.

²⁴⁷ Pieces of Runic Poetry, London, 1763. p. 49.

tions

tions and desirable immunities, would not be deserted. It was indeed very much crowded; and the accounts which we have of the numbers of the Bards in some countries, particularly in Ireland, are hardly credible²⁴⁸. We often read, in the poems of Ossian, of a hundred Bards belonging to one prince, singing and playing in concert, for his entertainment²⁴⁹. Every chief Bard, who was called Allah Redan, or doctor in poetry, was allowed to have thirty Bards of inferior note constantly about his person; and every Bard of the second rank was allowed a retinue of fifteen poetical disciples²⁵⁰. But it is probable that the Bards of Britain and Ireland were not so numerous in the period we are now delineating, as they became afterwards; nor were they then guilty of those crimes by which they at length forfeited the public favour²⁵¹. In this most ancient period, the British Bards seem to have been, in general, men of genius and virtue, who merited the honours which they enjoyed.

Though the ancient Britons of the southern parts of this island had originally the same taste and genius for poetry with those of the north, yet none of their poetical compositions of this period have been preserved. Nor have we any reason to be surpris'd at this. For after the provincial Britons had submitted quietly to the Roman go-

None of
the poems
of the pro-
vincial
Britons
preserved.

²⁴⁸ Keating's Hist. of Ireland, p. 370, &c.

²⁴⁹ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 18.

²⁵⁰ Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 212, 213.

²⁵¹ Dr. Brown's Dissertation, p. 163, &c.

vernment,

vernment, yielded up their arms, and had lost their free and martial spirit, they could take little pleasure in hearing or repeating the songs of their Bards, in honour of the glorious achievements of their brave ancestors. The Romans too, if they did not practise the same barbarous policy which was long after practised by Edward I. of putting the Bards to death, would at least discourage them, and discountenance the repetition of their poems, for very obvious reasons. These sons of the song being thus persecuted by their conquerors, and neglected by their countrymen, either abandoned their country or their profession, and their songs being no longer heard, were soon forgotten. But so natural was a taste for poetry to the original inhabitants of this island, that it was not quite destroyed by their long subjection to the Romans; but appeared again in the posterity of the provincial Britons (as will be seen in the sequel of this work) as soon as they recovered their martial spirit, and became a brave, free, and independent people.

Music.

The ancient inhabitants of Britain, as well as of many other countries, had at least as great a taste and fondness for music as they had for poetry. It is quite unnecessary to enquire how they contracted this taste. For music is natural to mankind, who have been accustomed to singing in all ages and in all countries²⁵¹. Vocal

²⁵¹ Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. i. p. 345. Quintilian, l. i. c. 10.

music,

music, perhaps in imitation of the feathered songsters of the woods and groves, was here, and everywhere, more ancient than instrumental²⁵². It was not long, however, before men became sensible of the imperfection of their organs, and endeavoured to supply their defects by the invention of several sonorous instruments, with the music of which they accompanied and assisted their voices in singing²⁵³. It is impossible to discover at what time, and by whom, instrumental music was first invented, or rather introduced into this island; though we may be certain that it was long before it was invaded by the Romans.

It is probable that the ancient Britons, as well as many other nations of antiquity, had no idea of poems that were made only to be repeated, and not to be sung to the sound of musical instruments. In the first stages of society in all countries, the two sister arts of poetry and music seem to have been always united; every poet was a musician and sung his own verses to the sound of some musical instrument²⁵⁴. This we are directly told, by two writers of undoubted credit, was the case in Gaul, and consequently in Britain, in this period. "The Bards," says Diodorus Siculus, "sung their poems to the

Poetry and music were originally united.

²⁵² *At liquidas avium voces imitauer ore*

Ante fuit multo, quam levia carmina cantu

Concelebrare homines possent, aurisque juvare. Lucret. l. 5.

²⁵³ *Origin of Laws, Arts, &c.* v. I. p. 345.

²⁵⁴ Gerard. Vossius de Art. Poet. p. 82.—See Dr. Brown's Dissertation on the Union of Poetry and Music.

"sound

“found of an instrument not unlike a lyre²⁵⁵.”
 “The (Bards as we are informed by Ammianus
 “Marcellinus) celebrated the brave actions of
 “illustrious men in heroic poems, which they
 “sung to the sweet sounds of the lyre²⁵⁶.”
 This account of these Greek and Latin writers
 is confirmed by the general strain, and by many
 particular passages of the poems of Ossian.
 “Beneath his own tree, at intervals, each Bard
 “sat down with his harp. They raised the
 “song and touched the string: each to the
 “chief he loved²⁵⁷.” But this union between
 poetry and music did not subsist very long, in
 its greatest strictness, perhaps in any country.
 The musicians soon became very numerous; and
 those of them who had not a genius for com-
 posing verses of their own, assisted in singing
 the verses of others to the music of their harps.
 Many of those songsters, or parasites (as Athe-
 næas calls them), which the Celtic princes
 carried with them when they went to war, were
 mere musicians, and the songs which they sung
 were composed by those among them who had a
 poetical genius, and were called Bards²⁵⁸. This
 partial separation between poetry and music had
 probably taken place in this island in the days
 of Ossian. For though we have sufficient evi-
 dence from the poems of this illustrious bard,

²⁵⁵ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. sec. 31 p. 354.

²⁵⁶ Ammian. Marcellin. l. 15. c. 9.

²⁵⁷ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 112, 113.

²⁵⁸ Athenæas, l. 6. c. 12.

that,

that in his time all poets were musicians; we have not the same evidence that all musicians were poets.

As instrumental music was at first invented to accompany and assist the voice in singing, so it was long employed in all countries to that purpose only²⁵⁹. This was evidently the case among the ancient Britons in the period we are now considering. Ossian, the sweet voice of Cona, who excelled as much both in vocal and instrumental music as he did in poetry, seems to have had no idea of playing on an instrument without singing at the same time. Whenever his bards touch the string, they always raise the song²⁶⁰. This was probably one of those circumstances which rendered the music of the ancients so affecting, and enabled it to produce such strong emotions of rage, love, joy, grief, and other passions in the hearers, by conveying the pathetic strains of poetry to their hearts, in the most rousing, softening, joyous, or plaintive sounds.

Though the ancient Britons were not altogether unacquainted with wind instruments of music, yet they seem to have delighted chiefly in the lyre or harp²⁶¹. This instrument is said to have been invented by the Scythians, and was much used by all the Celtic nations²⁶². At first

Harp.

²⁵⁹ Mr. Rollin's History of the Arts, c. 6.

²⁶⁰ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. Ammian. Marcel. l. 51. c. 9.

²⁶¹ The Poems of Ossian, passim.

²⁶² Pelloutier Hist. des Celt. c. 9. p. 360. Note 30.

it had only four or five strings, or thongs made of an ox's skin, and was played upon with a plectrum made of the jaw-bone of a goat²⁶³. But the construction of this instrument was gradually improved, and the number of its strings increased; though we do not know with certainty of what number of strings the ancient British harp consisted. They played upon it with their fingers, and not with a plectrum²⁶⁴.

Music
simple and
natural.

The ancient Britons of this period certainly sung and played by the ear; and their tunes, as well as their poems, were handed down from one age to another; the author of each poem composing its music, which was taught at the same time with the poem. This music, like that of other ancient nations, was in general simple and natural, suited to the subject of the song or poem for which it was composed; which made it more affecting than the more artificial, but less natural music of later ages²⁶⁵.

²⁶³ Pelloutier Hist. des Celt. c. q. p. 360. Note 30.

²⁶⁴ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 67. last line.

²⁶⁵ Mr. Rolin's Hist. of Arts, c. 6. § 3.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. VI.

The history of commerce, coin, and shipping in Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.

THE innumerable advantages of commerce are so sensibly felt by all the inhabitants of this happy island, that it is quite unnecessary to enter upon a formal proof of its great importance, or to make any apology for admitting it to a place in the history of our country. This is a distinction to which it is well entitled, and from which it hath been too long excluded.

It is almost as difficult to discern the first beginnings of the British commerce, as it was to

Importance
of com-
mercial
history.

Antiquity
of com-
merce.

discover the sources of the Nile. For as the greatest rivers sometimes flow from the smallest fountains, so the most extensive commerce sometimes proceeds from the most trifling and imperceptible beginnings. The truth is, that commerce of some kind, and in some degree, hath been coëval with society, and the distinction of property, in all parts of the world'. As soon as the inhabitants of any country were formed into societies, under any kind of government, and had any thing that they could call their own, they were prompted by necessity, convenience, or fancy, to make frequent exchanges among themselves of one thing for another.

Thus, in the very first stage of society, the hunter who had caught more game than he needed, or could use, willingly gave a part of it for a share of the herbs or fruits which another had gathered. This kind of commerce was certainly carried on in this island almost as soon as it was inhabited.

Gradual increase of commerce in the way of barter.

When the people of any country proceed from the savage to the pastoral life, as their properties become more various and valuable, so their dealings and trafficking with one another become more frequent and extensive. But when they join a little agriculture and some necessary manufactures to the feeding of cattle, the materials, opportunities, and necessity of commerce among the members of a state are very much

* Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 277.

increased, though it is still carried on for some time in the way of exchange and barter of one commodity for another. It was in this way, as we are told by Solinus, that the people of Britain, particularly the Silures, carried on their trade in his time. "They make no use of money in commerce, but exchange one thing for another; and in making these exchanges they pay a greater regard to the mutual necessities of the parties, than to the intrinsic value of the commodities". In this state of commerce there were no merchants by profession; but every man endeavoured to find out, in the best manner he could, another person who wanted the things which he had, and had those which he wanted. This, we may well imagine, was sometimes no easy task; and while commerce was carried on in this manner, in any country, it could not be very extensive. Such was the very limited, imperfect state of trade among the ancient inhabitants of this island for several ages. Ignorant of the arts of numbering, weighing, and measuring, and unacquainted with the use of money, they knew only to exchange, by guess, one thing for another. But even this was of very great advantage, and formed one of the strongest ties by which the members of infant societies were united.

In the first periods of society in this, and perhaps in every other country, commerce was

Com-
merce, ori-
ginally

² Solinus, c. 35.

confined
within the
limits of
each state,
gradually
enlarged
its circle.

almost wholly confined within the narrow limits of every little state. The intercourse which the members of one state had with those of another, was for the most part hostile and predatory rather than mercantile and friendly. The petty states of Britain were almost constantly at war with one another, which made their mutual depredations to be considered as just and honourable enterprises. Too like the ancient Germans in this, as well as in many other things, “ they “ did not esteem those robberies in the least “ dishonourable that were committed without “ the limits of their own state, but rather applauded and encouraged them with a view “ to keep their youth in the constant exercise “ of arms³.” It is not improbable that the prospect of obtaining those things by force from the people of a neighbouring state, which they could not obtain without an equivalent from their fellow-citizens, contributed not a little to keep the flames of war almost constantly burning. But when some of the British states began to apply to agriculture and other arts, their ferocious and predatory dispositions gradually abated; the rage of war was often suspended for a considerable time, and the people of these different states carried on a commercial intercourse with each other for their mutual advantage. By this means the circle of commerce was enlarged, and it became a bond of union between different

³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.

states ;

states; as it had formerly been between the members of each state. But though it was more extensive, it was still of the same kind, and carried on by way of barter and exchange⁴.

Besides this internal commerce which the people of Britain carried on among themselves from the very commencement of civil society, and which gradually increased as they improved in civility, industry, and arts; they had commercial dealings with several foreign nations in very ancient times. The first of these nations which visited this island on account of trade was unquestionably the Phœnicians. This is positively affirmed by Strabo, and acknowledged by many other authors⁵. That people are generally believed to have been the inventors of navigation and foreign trade, and the instructors of other nations in these most useful arts⁶. This much at least is certain, that they were the boldest and most expert mariners, the greatest and most successful merchants of antiquity⁷. After they had made themselves perfectly well acquainted with all the coasts of the Mediterranean, had planted colonies and built cities on several parts of these coasts, and had carried on, for some ages, a prodigious and most enriching trade with all the countries bordering on that sea; they ventured to pass the Straits of Gibraltar about 1250

Foreign
commerce
with the
Phœni-
cians.

⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 33. c. 1.

⁵ Strabo, l. 3. sub fine.

⁶ Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. p. 296.

⁷ Isaiah, c. 23. v. 8. Ezekiel, c. 27.

years before the beginning of the Christian æra, and pushed their discoveries both to the right and left of these Straits⁸. On the right hand they built the city of Cadiz, in a small island near the coast of Spain; and from thence prosecuted their discoveries and their trade with great spirit and advantage⁹. They soon became acquainted with all the coasts and many of the interior parts of Spain, which was to them, for some ages, as great a source of wealth as the new world was afterwards to the Spaniards¹⁰. Pursuing their inquiries after trade and gain still further northward, they acquired a perfect knowledge of the western coasts of Gaul; and at length discovered the Scilly islands, and the south-west coasts of Britain¹¹.

The time of the Phœnicians' discovery of Britain not certainly known.

It is impossible to fix the time of this last discovery of the Phœnicians with certainty and precision. Some writers are of opinion that this island was discovered by that adventurous people before the Trojan war, and not long after it was first inhabited by colonies from the continent of Gaul¹². If we could be certain that the tin, in which the Tyrians or Phœnicians traded in the days of the prophet Ezekiel, was brought from Britain, we should be obliged to embrace this

⁸ Origin of Laws, &c. v. 2 p. 293, &c. Bochart in Phaleg. l. 3. c. 7. in Canaan, l. 1.

⁹ Id. ibid. c. 34. p. 608, &c.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. l. 5. § 35. p. 358.

¹¹ Bochart Canaan, l. 1. c. 41. p. 659. c. 39. p. 648.

¹² Aylett Sammes Brit. Antiq. c. 5.

opinion.

opinion¹³. But as we know that they found great quantities of tin as well as of more precious metals in Spain, we cannot fix the æra of their arrival in Britain from this circumstance. The learned Bochart, and others from him, fix the time when the Phœnicians first discovered the Cassiterides, or Scilly island, to the year of the world 3100, and before Christ 904¹⁴; while others imagine that this discovery was made by Himilco, a famous mariner of antiquity, who was sent from Carthage with a fleet to explore the seas and coasts northward of the Straits of Gibraltar, about 600 years before the beginning of the Christian æra¹⁵. Though nothing can be determined with certainty about so remote an event, this last opinion seems to be the most probable. For Herodotus, who flourished about 440 years before our Saviour, says, that the Greeks in his time received all their tin from the islands called Cassiterides, but that he knew not in what part of the world these islands were situated¹⁶. This is a direct proof that the Scilly islands, and adjacent continent of Britain, were discovered before this period; and that the Phœnicians, who had made this valuable discovery, still concealed their situation from other nations.

¹³ Ezekiel, c. 26. v. 12.

¹⁴ Bochart's Canaan, l. 1. c. 34. Anderson's History of Commerce, v. 1. p. 8.

¹⁵ Dr. Borlase's Hist. Corn. p. 27, 28.

¹⁶ Herodot. l. 1.

No evidence that the Phœnicians planted any colonies in Britain.

It is uncertain whether or not the Phœnicians planted any colonies, or built any cities in Britain and the adjacent islands, as they did in many other countries, to enable them to carry on their trade with greater advantage. Some think that the swarthy complexions and curled hair of the ancient inhabitants of the south-west coast of Britain, which made Tacitus conjecture that they had come from Spain, were owing to their being descended from a colony of Phœnicians from Spain, which had been planted in these parts¹⁷. But, upon the whole, it seems to be more probable that the Phœnicians contented themselves with making occasional, perhaps annual, voyages, into these parts of the world for the sake of trade; and that this is the reason so few vestiges of them are to be found even in those parts of this island that they most frequented.

Commodities exported by the Phœnicians.

The enlargement of their commerce was the great object the Phœnicians had in view in their many bold adventurous voyages into distant countries, particularly into this island. They soon found that it abounded in several valuable commodities, for which they very well knew where to find a good market. The most considerable of these commodities were tin, lead, and skins¹⁸.

Tin.

The Phœnicians, at their first arrival in Spain, had found great quantities of tin, with which

¹⁷ Dr. Borlase's Hist. Corn. p. 30.

¹⁸ Strabo, l. 3. sub fine.

they

they carried on a very advantageous trade into many different countries for several ages¹⁹. But at length the mines of tin in Spain were almost exhausted, and the profits arising from them were much diminished. This made the discovery of the Scilly islands, and of the south-west coasts of Britain, very seasonable to the Phœnicians. For here they found that valuable metal tin, from which they derived such large profits, in the greatest plenty, and with the greatest ease²⁰. Cargoes of this metal they conveyed, in their own ships, into all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and even into India, where it was much valued, and sold at a very high price²¹.

It is not certain in what parts of this island the Phœnicians found the lead which they exported. If it was in those parts of it, which have abounded most with that metal in succeeding ages, they were better acquainted with Britain, and had penetrated further into it, than is commonly imagined. For the countries in which the richest lead mines have been found, are those of the Coritani, now Derbyshire; of the Dimetæ, now Cardiganshire; of the Ordovices, now Denbighshire; and of the Brigantes, now Yorkshire, Northumberland, &c.²² However this may be, we are assured by Pliny, “ That

Lead.

¹⁹ Bochart Phaleg. c. 34.

²⁰ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 22. p. 347.

²¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 16.

²² Camden's Britannia, col. 591. 820. 917, &c.

“ in

“in some parts of Britain lead was found immediately under the surface, in such abundance, that they found it necessary to make a law, that no more than a certain quantity of it should be taken annually²¹.” When this metal was so plentiful and obvious, the Phœnicians would easily procure as great quantities of it as they thought proper to export.

Skins and wool.

The third, and not the least valuable article of the Phœnician exports from this island, was the skins both of wild and tame animals. Under this article was probably comprehended the wool of the British sheep, which hath been so excellent in all ages; and would be of great use to the Phœnicians in their woollen manufactures.

Phœnicians imported into Britain salt, earthenware, and trinkets.

Though the Phœnicians were probably among the first nations in the world who understood the fabrication of money, and its use in trade; and though they were immensely rich in gold and silver, yet they made no use of coin in their commerce with the people of Britain. That people had in these times no idea of the nature or use of money; and the Phœnicians profited too much by their ignorance, to take any pains to instruct them in these particulars. They acted, in a word, in the same manner towards the ancient Britons, as the Europeans acted towards the people of America, on their first discovery of that country. They gave them things of small price in exchange for their most valuable com-

²¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 17.

modities.

modities. The Phœnician imports into the Cassiterides, or tin-countries of Britain and its adjacent island, as we are told by Strabo, consisted of the three articles of salt, earthen-ware and trinkets made of brass²⁴. The first and second of these articles were indeed useful, but of easy purchase, and were probably sold at an exorbitant rate, to the unskilful Britons. The things made of brass were chiefly of the superfluous and ornamental kind, as bracelets for their arms, chains for their necks, rings, and the like, of which the ancient Britons were remarkably fond²⁵.

We may be convinced that the Phœnicians made great profit by their trade to Britain, by the anxious care with which they laboured to conceal it from the knowledge of other nations. The following story which is told by Strabo, is a sufficient proof of this anxiety and care. “ In the most ancient times, the Phœnicians from Cadiz were the only persons who traded to these islands, concealing that navigation from all others. When the Romans once followed a Phœnician ship with a design to discover this market, the master maliciously and wilfully run his ship among shallows, and the Romans following were involved in the same danger. The Phœnician, by throwing part of his cargo over-board, made his escape: and his countrymen were so well pleased with his conduct,

Phœnicians concealed their commerce with Britain from other nations.

²⁴ Strabo, l. 3. sub fine.

²⁵ Herodian, l. 3. c. 47.

“ that

“ that they ordered all the loss he had sustained
 “ to be paid out of the public treasury ”.²⁶ By
 these prudent precautions, the Phœnicians en-
 joyed a profitable and exclusive trade to these
 islands for about 300 years. But the secret was
 at length discovered, and the Greeks, Gauls,
 and Romans came in successively for a share in
 this trade.

Britain
 discovered
 by the
 Greeks.

It appears, from the unquestionable testimony
 of Herodotus, that though the Greeks in his
 time (about 440 years before Christ) knew very
 well that all the tin which they used, and which
 they received from the Phœnicians, came origin-
 ally from the Cassiterides, or Britain, and the
 Scilly islands, yet they did not know in what
 part of the world these islands were situated²⁷.
 For though the Phœnicians, in their transactions
 with the Greeks, could hardly avoid mentioning
 the names of these remote countries to which
 they sailed, they might, and did, avoid instruct-
 ing them in the course they steered; and the
 Greeks had not then made such progress in navi-
 gation as enabled them to make the discovery
 themselves. How long it was after the age of
 Herodotus before the Greeks began to trade
 directly to Britain is not exactly known; but
 there are some things that may incline us to think
 that it was not very long. Pliny observes²⁸, that
 Britain had long been famous in the annals of
 the Greeks: and Polibius, who was by birth a

²⁶ Strabo, l. 3.

²⁷ Herodot. l. 1.

²⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 16.

Greek,

Greek, and flourished near 200 years before Christ, wrote a whole book (which is unhappily lost) concerning Britain, and the manner in which tin was managed in that island²⁹: a proof that it was not unknown to the Greeks in the age of Polybius, and probably a considerable time before. Pytheas of Marseilles, who flourished about three hundred and thirty years before the beginning of the Christian æra, was the most ancient Greek geographer who gave any account of the British isles; and was probably the very first of the Greeks who discovered these islands, and communicated that discovery to his countrymen. For Pytheas was an adventurous mariner, as well as a great geographer; and having passed the Straits, sailed along the coasts of Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Scandinavia, until he came to a place where the sun continued only a few minutes below the horizon; which must have been about the 66th degree of north latitude³⁰. In this voyage he not only discovered Britain, but even Thule, now Iceland, which he places six days sail farther to the north than Britain³¹. It is therefore highly probable that the Greeks began to trade into Britain soon after the age of Pytheas, or about three hundred years before the birth of Christ.

The commodities which the Greeks of Marseilles, and perhaps of other places, exported from Britain, were probably the same that had

Imports
and ex-
ports of the
Greeks.

²⁹ Polyb. l. 3.

³⁰ Strabo, l. 2. p. 104.

³¹ Strabo, l. 4. p. 204. *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, t. 19. p. 145, &c.

been

been exported from hence by the Phœnicians, their predecessors and rivals in this trade; viz. tin, lead, and skins. The first of these commodities was the most valuable, and yielded the greatest profits. For this metal was long held in high estimation in all parts of the world, on account of the facility with which it was refined and manufactured, and the many various uses to which it was employed³². It was sent even into India, where none of it was to be found, and where they purchased it with their most precious diamonds. The great profits arising from the tin-trade of Britain in these times, was the chief thing that made the merchants of Carthage and Cadiz conceal the place where they got their tin with so much care; and made other nations so desirous of making the discovery. The Greeks obtained a share, if not the whole of this trade, with the greater ease, that the Carthaginians, soon after this period, began to be engaged in those long and bloody wars with the Romans, which very much diverted their attention from mercantile affairs, and at last ended in the total destruction of their state. They, no doubt, carried on this trade with the people of Britain in the same manner the Phœnicians had done, by giving them, who were still ignorant of the nature and use of money, some things of no great price, in exchange for their valuable commodities.

³² Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 17.

Not only the maritime states of Greece, but the Greek colonies of Italy, Sicily, and Gaul, excelled in the arts of ship-building and navigation, and were much addicted to trade, in this period.

Greeks excelled in navigation and ship-building.

Many evidences of this, if it were necessary, might be produced: but that prodigious ship which was built at Syracuse, under the direction of Archimedes, and of which we have a most pompous description in Athenæus, is at once a proof of the great proficiency of the Greeks in all the maritime arts; and of their trade with Britain, about 200 years before the birth of Christ, when that ship was built. For, according to Athenæus, “this ship had three masts; of which the second and third were got without much difficulty; but it was long before they could find a tree fit for the first or main-mast. This at length was discovered on the mountains of Britain, and brought down to the sea-coast by machines invented by one Phileas Tauromenites, a famous mechanic³³.”

As the Greeks did not enjoy the British commerce very long, and neither planted colonies nor built cities in this island, we have no reason to be surpris'd that so little is said on this subject by such of their writers as are now extant, and that they left so few traces behind them. Attentive observers, however, have discovered so many vestiges of their language, letters, learning, religion, and manners among

Greeks also concealed their commerce with Britain.

³³ Athenæi Deipnos. l. 5. c. 10.

the ancient Britons, as sufficiently prove the reality of their intercourse with this island³⁴. They seem also, as well as the Phœnicians, to have endeavoured to conceal their knowledge of and commerce with the British isles from other nations. For when the famous Scipio, as we are told by Strabo from Polybius, enquired at the people of Marseilles concerning these isles, they pretended a total ignorance of them³⁵. This was certainly a very false pretence, after the information they had received from Pytheas, and others³⁶; and was probably made with no other view than to prevent the Romans from disturbing them in the enjoyment of the tin-trade in Britain.

The trade of Britain carried on in a different channel.

Whether the Greeks of Marseilles were discouraged from continuing to trade directly with Britain, by the length and danger of the voyage, or by the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, which rendered the navigation of the Mediterranean very unsafe, we cannot be certain. But this we know from the best information, that the trade between Britain and Marseilles, after some time, began to be carried on in a different manner, and through a different channel. Of this we have the following plain account from Diodorus Siculus: “ These Britons
“ who dwell near the promontory of Belerium
“ (the Land’s-end) live in a very hospitable and

³⁴ Aylet Sammes *Britannia Antiqua*, c. 6. p. 74.

³⁵ Strabo, l. 4. p. 190.

³⁶ *Memoires de L'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. 19. p. 163.

“ polite

“ polite manner, which is owing to their great
 “ intercourse with foreign merchants. They
 “ prepare, with much dexterity, the tin which
 “ their country produceth. For though this
 “ metal is very precious, yet when it is first dug
 “ out of the mine it is mixed with earth, from
 “ which they separate it, by melting and refin-
 “ ing. When it is refined, they cast it into
 “ ingots, in the shape of cubes or dies, and then
 “ carry it into an adjacent island, which is called
 “ Ictis (Wight). For when it is low-water, the
 “ space between that island and the continent of
 “ Britain becomes dry land; and they carry
 “ great quantities of tin into it in their carts and
 “ waggons. Here the merchants buy it, and
 “ transport it to the coast of Gaul; from whence
 “ they convey it over land, on horses, in about
 “ thirty days, to the mouth of the Rhone.”

As Marseilles is situated near the mouth of the
 river Rhone, we may be certain that it was the
 place to which the British tin was carried; and
 that from thence the merchants of Marseilles
 sent it into all parts of the world to which they
 traded.

It is not so clear, from the above account of
 Diodorus Siculus, who were the foreign mer-
 chants who purchased the tin from the Britons in
 the Isle of Wight, transported it to the coast of
 Gaul, and from thence over land to Marseilles.
 Some imagine that they were Greeks from Mar-
 seilles, who had factories established in the Isle

Who car-
 ried on this
 trade.

37 Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 22. p. 347.

of Wight, and on the coast of Gaul, for the management of this trade; while others think that they were Gauls, and that the people of Marseilles remained quietly at home, and received the British tin, and other commodities from the hands of these Gaulish merchants³⁸. There seems to be some truth in both these opinions: and it is most probable that the merchants of Marseilles, finding the difficulties and dangers of trading directly to Britain by sea, contrived the scheme of carrying on that trade over the continent of Gaul; and sent agents of their own to begin the execution of this scheme. But they could not but soon discover that it was impossible to carry on a trade through so great an extent of country, without the consent and assistance of the inhabitants; and that it was necessary to employ them, first as their carriers, and afterwards as their agents. By this means some of the Gauls becoming acquainted with the nature and profits of this trade engaged in it on their own account. For it is certain that the Gauls were instructed in trade, as well as in arts and learning, by the Greeks of Marseilles.

Ports of
Gaul
where the
British
goods were
landed.

It is evident that the Isle of Wight was the place from whence these foreign merchants, whether Greeks or Gauls, exported the British tin; but we are not told at what port of Gaul it was landed. A modern writer, of great learning, hath engaged in a long and particular dis-

³⁸ *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. 16. p. 162.

cussion of this point³⁹; and after examining several different opinions, he concludes at last, that Vennes, in Brittany, was the port at which the goods exported from Britain were disembarked. It is however probable that the merchants of Gaul landed their goods from Britain at different ports, as it suited best their own situation and conveniency.

The people of Marseilles did not enjoy the British commerce long without rivals, after it began to be carried on over the continent of Gaul. For it appears that the merchants of Narbonne soon obtained a share of that trade. This had been but an inconsiderable place, till the Romans planted a colony there, about a century before the birth of Christ, and made it the capital of their first province in Gaul, called Gallia Narbonensis⁴⁰. Soon after this, Narbonne became a magnificent, rich, and mercantile city; being conveniently situated on the coast of the Mediterranean, not far from the mouth of the Rhoné. From this time the merchants of Gaul found a market at Narbonne for a part of the goods which they brought from Britain, and which they had formerly carried only to Marseilles⁴¹.

Narbonne
a great
emporium.

After the British trade was thus divided between Marseilles and Narbonne, the merchants of Gaul opened several new routes for conveying

The routes
by which
the British
goods were
conveyed

³⁹ Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. 16. p. 168.

⁴⁰ Strabo, l. 4. p. 189.

⁴¹ Strabo, l. 4.

over the
continent
of Gaul, to
Marseilles
and Nar-
bonne.

their goods from Britain over the continent of Gaul, to these two great cities. Three of these routes are distinctly described by Strabo. When they made use of the first of these routes, they brought their goods from Britain up the river Seine, as far as it was navigable; and from thence conveyed them, on horses over land, to the river Rhone, on which they again embarked them; and falling down that river to the Mediterranean, landed them either at Marseilles or Narbonne. In their return they brought goods for the British market from these cities up the Rhone, as far as it was navigable, from thence over land to the Seine, and down the river, and across the channel to the Isle of Wight, and other parts of Britain⁴². But because so long a navigation up the rapid river Rhone was attended with great difficulties, they sometimes landed their goods at Vienne, or Lyons, carried them over land to the Loire, and down that river to Vannes, and other cities on the coast of Brittany, and from thence embarked them for Britain⁴³. The trade between Britain and Marseilles and Narbonne, by this second route (which was perhaps the greatest), was carried on by the Veneti, who were the greatest traders and the best navigators among the ancient Gauls⁴⁴. The third route was from Britain to the mouth of the Garonne, up that river as far as it was navigable; and from thence over land to Narbonne⁴⁵.

⁴² Strabo, l. 4. p. 128. 186.

⁴³ Id. *ibid*.

⁴⁴ Cæsar de Bel. Gal, l. 3, c. 2.

⁴⁵ Strabo, l. 4. p. 189.

After

After the trade of Britain came into the hands of the Gauls, who were of the same origin, professed the same religion, and spoke the same language with the ancient Britons, it was not long confined to the Scilly islands and the coast of Cornwall, as it had been while it was managed by the Phœnicians and Greeks; but gradually extended to all the coasts opposite to Gaul. For when the Belgæ, and other nations from Gaul, had got possession of these coasts, the intercourse between them and the continent became open, friendly, and frequent. Merchant ships were constantly passing and repassing the British channel, especially where it is narrowest, from the one country to the other, for their mutual benefit. In former ages, the Britons who dwelt in the Scilly islands, and on the coast of Cornwall, near the Land's-end, were the most civilized, because they had then the greatest intercourse with foreign merchants from Cadiz and Marfeilles⁴⁶. But in Cæsar's time, and for some time before, the people of Kent were the most polite; because the trade of Britain being then carried on by the Gauls, the greatest number of ships from the neighbouring continent arrived in the ports of that country; and the inhabitants of it were more conversant with foreign merchants, and most engaged in trade⁴⁷.

Trade of
Britain ex-
tended.

Though the above deduction of the various revolutions in the British commerce, from its

Trade of
Britain
greater and

⁴⁶ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 22. p. 347.

⁴⁷ Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 13, 14.

better known, after the Roman Invasion.

mencement to the first Roman invasion, may not appear altogether satisfactory; it will not perhaps be found an easy task to collect one much more perfect from the genuine remains of history. From the memorable æra of that invasion, the trade of this island became gradually more considerable, and the particulars of it a little better known.

Limits of the British trade at that invasion.

We are informed by Cæsar, that as soon as he began to think of invading this island, he was at great pains to procure intelligence about the state and circumstances of it, in order to enable him to form a proper scheme for its reduction. But he found it very difficult to obtain the intelligence he wanted and desired. “For very few, except merchants, visited Britain in these times; and even the merchants were acquainted only with the sea-coasts, and countries opposite to Gaul⁴⁸.” This is a distinct description of the seat and limits of the foreign trade of Britain at that time; which was confined to the sea-coasts on that side of it that lies along the British channel, between the mouth of the Thames on the east, and the Land’s-end on the west. All the rest of this island was then unknown to strangers, and without any trade or intercourse with foreign nations.

Intercourse between Britain

Though Julius Cæsar did not found any cities, plant any colonies, or form any lasting establish-

⁴⁸ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 20.

ments in Britain, yet the Romans gained, by his two expeditions, a much greater knowledge of it than they could before obtain from the information of others. The tribute also which he imposed on several of the British states, though it was never paid, afforded a pretence to succeeding emperors to make demands upon them, and to intermeddle in their affairs. This pretence was not neglected by his immediate successor Augustus, who drew considerable revenues from Britain, without being at any expence or trouble. These revenues arose partly from the valuable presents that were made him by the British princes who courted his favour, and partly from the customs or duties which he imposed on all the goods exported from Britain to the continent, and imported from the continent into Britain⁴⁹. As these duties were moderate, and procured the British merchants the protection of the Romans, and a favourable reception in all their ports, they paid them without much reluctance; and Augustus, who had more of the spirit of a financier than of a hero, chose rather to accept of this revenue which was got with ease, than to involve himself in the danger and expence of an expedition into Britain⁵⁰. The British trade being now become an object not unworthy of the attention of the greatest monarch in the world, it may not be improper to take a short view of the several articles of which its exports and imports

and the
continent
increased.

⁴⁹ Strabo, l. 4. p. 200,

⁵⁰ Id. *ibid.*

consisted, as far as they can be discovered from the Greek and Roman writers.

Exported
from Bri-
tain.

Tin, we have reason to believe, still continued to be one of the most valuable articles of the British exports. The Romans, as well as the Phœnicians, Greeks, and other nations, set a very great value on this metal, and employed it to many various uses⁵¹.

Tin.

Pliny, indeed, doth not give credit to the prevailing opinion in his time, that all the tin which was used in the Roman empire came from Britain, but thinks that some of it was brought from Spain and Portugal⁵². But as Cæsar, Mela, Solinus, and other Roman authors⁵³, take notice of the great abundance of tin in this island, it is highly probable that the far greatest part, if not the whole of it that was used in the world in these times, was exported from Britain.

Lead.

Lead was another considerable article of the British exports during the reign of Augustus and his successors, as long as the Romans continued in this island. Pliny, after enumerating the various uses of lead, observes that this metal is got with greater ease, and in greater quantities, in Britain, than in either Gaul or Spain⁵⁴.

Iron.

Though the Britons had some iron when they were first invaded by the Romans, yet, as Cæsar observes, they had it only in small quantities, hardly sufficient for their home consumption,

⁵¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. 34. c. 17.

⁵² Id. ibid. c. 16.

⁵³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. Mela, l. 3. c. 8. Solinus, c. 35. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

⁵⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 17.

and

and none to spare for exportation⁵⁵. But after the Romans had been some time settled in this island, this most useful metal became very plentiful, and made a part of the British exports⁵⁶.

When Cæsar invaded Britain, it was believed that it produced neither gold nor silver; but the Romans had not been long settled in it, before they discovered their mistake, and found that it was not altogether destitute of these precious metals⁵⁷. A modern writer is of opinion, that gold and silver were not then found in such quantities as to furnish an article of the British exports⁵⁸; but the following passage of Strabo seems to imply the contrary: "Britain produceth corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron; besides which skins, slaves, and dogs, naturally excellent hunters, are exported from that island⁵⁹."

Gold and
silver.

The Gagates, or jeatstone, is believed by some to have constituted another article of the British exports of this period. This stone was highly esteemed by the ancients, both on account of its beauty and the many medicinal virtues they imagined it possessed; for which reason it bore a high price. It was found only at one place in Lycia, and in Britain⁶⁰.

Gagates,
or jeat-
stone.

*Nascitur in Lycia lapis, & prope gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium fecunda Britannia mittit⁶¹.*

⁵⁵ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

⁵⁶ Musgrave Belgium Britan. p. 156.

⁵⁷ M. Tullii Epist. tom. 1. l. 7. ep. 7. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

⁵⁸ Musgrave Belgium Britan. p. 169. ⁵⁹ Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

⁶⁰ Musgrave Belgium Britan. p. 164. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 19.

⁶¹ Marbodæus apud Camden Britan. v. 2. p. 908.

Solinus,

Solinus, in describing the productions of Britain, mentions the Gagates, as one of the most valuable, in the following terms: “ Besides; to
 “ say nothing in this place of the many large
 “ and rich veins of metals of various kinds with
 “ which the soil of Britain abounds, the Gagates
 “ is found there in great quantities, and of the
 “ most excellent quality. If you inquire about
 “ its appearance, it is black and gem-like: if
 “ its quality, it is exceeding light: if its nature,
 “ it flames with water, and is quenched with
 “ oil: if its virtue, it hath as great a power of
 “ attraction when it is rubbed as amber⁶¹.”

Lime and
 chalk.

Lime, chalk, and marle are reckoned among the British exports of this period. That chalk and marle abound in many parts of this island is well known, and that they were used as manures by the ancient British husbandmen hath been already proved⁶². The following very remarkable inscription, which was found, with many others near Domburgh, in Zealand, A. D. 1647, makes it appear that chalk was exported from Britain to the continent in very ancient times; and that this trade was carried on by a class of men that were called British chalk-merchants; who seem to have had a particular veneration for the goddess Nahalennia. This is a sufficient proof that this chalk trade was carried on before the general establishment of Christianity.

⁶¹ Solinus, c. 35.

⁶² Musgrave Belgium Britan. p. 162.
 See Chap. V. sect. Agriculture.

DEAE NEHALENNIAE
OB MERCES RECTE CONSER
VATAS SECVND. SILVANVS
NEGO † TOR CRETARIVS
BRITANNICIANVS
V. S. L. M. ⁶⁴

To the goddess Nehalennia
For his goods well preserved
Secundus Silvanus
A chalk-merchant
Of Britain

Willingly performed his merited vow.

Gems, and particularly pearls, may also be Pearls.
classed among the British exports of this period ⁶⁵.
Pearls, according to Pliny, were esteemed by
the Romans the most precious and excellent of
all things, and bore the highest price ⁶⁶. Julius
Cæsar was so great an admirer of the British
pearls, which he had seen in Gaul, and used to
weigh in his hand, that Suetonius affirms, the
hope of obtaining a quantity of them was his
chief inducement to the invasion of Britain ⁶⁷.
This much is certain, that after his return from
this island, he consecrated a breast-plate, of great
value and beauty, to Venus, in her temple at
Rome; which he signified by an inscription, was
composed of British pearls ⁶⁸. Several ancient
writers represent the pearls of Britain as generally

⁶⁴ Kessler *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, p. 246.

⁶⁵ Mela, l. 3. c. 6.

⁶⁶ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. 9. c. 35.

⁶⁷ Sueton. *Jul. Cæsar*, c. 47.

⁶⁸ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. 9. c. 35.

small,

small, and of a dusky colour; though others speak of them in more favourable terms ⁶⁹.

Gignet et insignes antiqua Britannia baccas ⁷⁰.

The fairest pearls grow on the British coasts.

It seems probable that the pearls of Britain were inferior to those of India and Arabia in general, though some of them might be remarkable for their size and beauty. But however this may be, the manner in which they are mentioned by so great a number of Greek and Roman authors, is a sufficient proof that they were well known on the continent, and consequently that they were a considerable article of commerce ⁷¹.

Corn.

Though agriculture was not unknown in Britain before it was invaded by the Romans, it was neither so perfect nor so extensive as to afford corn for exportation. But this most useful of all arts made such rapid progress after that period, that Strabo (who flourished about the beginning of the Christian æra) mentions corn among the productions of Britain that were exported ⁷². When the Romans subdued the best part of this island, and settled in it, they practised agriculture with so much skill, industry, and success themselves, and gave such encouragement to the natives to imitate their example, that corn be-

⁶⁹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 9. c. 35. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12. Ælian. Hist. Anem. l. 15. c. 8.

⁷⁰ Marbodæus de Lapid. prec. c. 61.

⁷¹ Ammian. Marcellin. l. 23. c. 6. sub fine.

⁷² Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

came the staple commodity of Britain, and the most valuable article of its exports ⁷³.

As Britain, according to the testimony of Cæsar, very much abounded in cattle of all kinds, we may be certain that they furnished the merchants of these times with several articles for exportation ⁷⁴. The hides of horned cattle, and the skins and fleeces of sheep, were exported from this island by the merchants in this period, as well as they had been long before by the Phœnicians and Greeks ⁷⁵. After the Romans had instructed the Britons in the art of making cheese, great quantities of it are said to have been exported for the use of the Roman armies ⁷⁶. The British horses were so beautiful, and so admirably trained, that they were much admired by the Romans, and exported for the saddles of their great men, and for mounting their cavalry ⁷⁷. It is also probable that oxen were exported for the yoke, and their carcasses for provisions for the Roman fleets and armies.

Cattle,
hides,
cheese,
horses.

It will perhaps appear ridiculous to many readers to be told that the British dogs constituted no inconsiderable article in the exports of this period. But in the hunting and pastoral stages of society these faithful animals are the favourite companions and most useful possessions of men; and even in a more advanced period of

Dogs.

⁷³ See Chap. V. sect. Agriculture.

⁷⁴ Cæsar de Bel. Gal.

l. 5. c. 12.

⁷⁵ Strabo, l. 3. p. 175. l. 4. p. 199.

⁷⁶ Musgrave *Belgium Britannicum*, p. 47.

⁷⁷ Anderson's *History of Commerce*.

civilization, they contribute not a little to their amusement. We need not therefore be surprised to hear the poet speaking of the British dogs, as an article of commerce, in the following terms :

Quod freta si Morinum dubio refluentia ponto
 Veneres, atque ipsos libeat penetrare Britannos,
 O quanta est merces, et quantum impendia supra ?
 But if the coasts of Calais you visit next,
 Where the firm shore with changing tide is vexed,
 And thence your course to distant Britain steer,
 What store of dogs ! and how exceeding dear ⁷⁸ !

These dogs seem to have been of three kinds, and designed for three different purposes. Some of them were very large, strong, and fierce, and were used by the Gauls, and some other nations, in war ⁷⁹. Others of them were the same with our present mastiffs, or bull-dogs, and were purchased by the Romans for baiting bulls in the amphitheatres, for the entertainment of the people.

Magnaue taurorum fractur collo Britanni ⁸⁰.
 And British mastiffs break the brawny necks of bulls.

But the greatest numbers, and those which bore the highest price, were designed for hunting, and excelled all others, both in swiftness and the exquisiteness of their scent. They are thus described in a passage of Oppian, translated out of Greek into Latin by Bodinus :

Est etiam catuli species indagine clara,
 Corpus huic breve, magnifico sed corpore digna ;

⁷⁸ Grotius apud Camden Britan v. 1. p. 139.
 l. 4. p. 200. Musgrave Belg. Brit. p. 160.

⁷⁹ Strabo,
⁸⁰ Claudian.

*Picta Britannorum gens illos effera bello
Nutrit, Agasæósq; vocat vilissima forma
Corporis, ut credas parasitos esse latrantes*⁸¹.

There is a kind of dogs of mighty fame
For hunting; worthy of a fairer frame:
By painted Britons brave in war they're bred,
Are beagles called, and to the chase are led:
Their bodies small, and of so mean a shape,
You'd think them curs; that under tables gape.

Many of the people of this now free and happy Slaves;
island will be still more surprised when they
are informed, that, in the period we are delineating,
great numbers of slaves were exported from Britain,
and sold like cattle in the Roman market. Of this,
however, we have sufficient evidence from Strabo,
a writer of the most unexceptionable credit,
who directly mentions slaves among the British
exports in his time⁸². It is even probable that
the young Britons, which, in the same place,
he says he himself saw at Rome, were slaves
exposed to sale in the market. For their height
is exactly measured, all their limbs are viewed,
and every part of their bodies examined with
the critical depreciating eye of a merchant who
was cheapening them⁸³. Some of these British
slaves appear to have been employed in laborious
and servile offices about the imperial court and
the public theatres of Rome⁸⁴. We are not informed
who these unfortunate Britons were, who were thus
ignominiously bought

⁸¹ Camden Britan. v. 1. p. 140.

⁸² Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

⁸³ Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

⁸⁴ Camden Brit. Introduct. p. 51.

and fold; nor in what manner they had lost their liberty. But it is most probable that they were prisoners taken in war; or criminals condemned to slavery for their crimes: though some of them might perhaps be unfortunate gamesters, who, after they had lost all their goods, had boldly staked their wives and children, and at last their own persons⁸⁵.

Baskets.

The reader must have observed that no manufactures, or works of art, have been mentioned among the British exports of this period. This was owing to the low imperfect state of the arts among the ancient Britons, before they were instructed by the Romans. There seems to have been only one kind of goods manufactured by them for exportation; which was baskets, and other works made of osiers. These baskets were of very elegant workmanship, and bore a high price; and are mentioned by Juvenal, among the extravagant expensive furniture of the Roman tables in his time.

*Adde et bascaudas et mille escaria*⁸⁶.

Add baskets, and a thousand other dishes.

That these baskets were manufactured in Britain, we learn from the following epigram of Martial:

Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis

*Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam*⁸⁷.

A basket I, by painted Britons wrought,

And now to Rome's imperial city brought.

⁸⁵ Musgrave Belg. Brit. p. 157, 158. Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 24.

⁸⁶ Juvenal. Sat. 12. v. 46.

⁸⁷ Martial, l. 14. ep. 99.

After

After the introduction of the Roman arts, goods of many kinds were manufactured in, and exported from Britain.

Though the above enumeration of the ancient British exports is probably very imperfect, it is impossible to give one so complete of the imports of these times. For these are not much noticed by any of the cotemporary writers, except Strabo, who names only a few particulars, and comprehends all the rest under the general expression of "various wares or trinkets of the like kind"⁸⁸.

Goods imported into Britain.

The particulars mentioned by Strabo are only these four:—ivory bridles—gold chains—cups of amber—and drinking glasses⁸⁹. These are evidently only a few of the most curious and costly commodities that were imported into Britain after it had been visited by Julius Cæsar, and before it was subdued by Claudius; designed only for the use of the British kings and princes. Besides these, we may be certain there were many other things imported, for the use of persons of inferior rank. In particular, we are told by Cæsar⁹⁰, that all the brass used in Britain was imported: and we know that in these times, before iron became plentiful, a great part of the arms, tools, and utensils of all kinds that were used in this island, were made of that metal⁹¹.

As soon as the Romans had subdued a considerable part of Britain, and great numbers of

Imports after the Roman conquest.

⁸⁸ Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

⁸⁹ Id. *ibid*.

⁹⁰ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

⁹¹ See Chap. V. sect. of Metals.

them had settled in it, the imports unavoidably became much more various and valuable. Besides wine, spices, and many other articles for their tables, they were under a necessity of importing the greatest part of their tools, arms, furniture, clothing, and many other things. When the Britons began to imitate the Roman luxury and way of living (as they soon did), the demand for the productions and manufactures of the continent was still more increased; which made the imports exceed the exports in value, brought the balance of trade, for some time, against this island, and involved the unhappy Britons in a grievous load of debt⁹².

Balance in
favour of
Britain.

When the Romans had completed the conquest of provincial Britain, they made haste to improve and enrich it, by introducing agriculture into all parts of it that were capable of cultivation; and by establishing various manufactures, in which they instructed their British subjects. As the Britons improved in the knowledge of agriculture and the other arts, they provided themselves, by their own industry, with many things that they had formerly imported; and raised and prepared many more articles for exportation. By this means they brought and kept the balance of trade in their favour, which soon enabled them to pay all their debts, and, by degrees, enriched them with great sums of Roman money.

⁹² Camden Britan. v. 1. p. 435.

The trade from the continent into Britain, as we learn from Strabo, was chiefly carried on from the mouths of these four great rivers, the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne: and the merchants who carried on that trade resided in the sea-ports on the adjacent coasts⁹. From thence they sent their British goods, partly by water, and partly by land carriage, into the interior parts of Germany, Gaul, Italy, and other countries: and by the same means received goods from all those countries for the British market.

Seats of
the British
trade on
the con-
tinent.

We are not so particularly informed concerning the situation of the chief sea-ports and principal trading towns of Britain in this period. While the British trade was managed only by the Phœnicians and Greeks, the Scilly islands and the isle of Wight were the chief marts and seats of trade. When it fell into the hands of the Gauls, it became gradually more extensive; and they visited all the safe and convenient harbours on the British coasts, opposite to their own, from the Land's-end to the mouth of the Thames. But after the Romans invaded, and more especially after they subdued and settled in this island, the scene of trade was prodigiously enlarged, many towns were built in the most convenient situations, on its sea-coasts and navigable rivers; and all these towns had probably a share of trade, more or less; though some had a much greater share than others. Clausentum, or Old

Trading
towns in
Britain.

⁹ Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

Southampton, is imagined to have been a place of considerable trade, on account of its convenient situation, on a fine bay near the tin-countries and the isle of Wight⁹⁴. Rutupæ, or Richborough, is also believed to have been a famous sea-port, and a place of great trade in the Roman times. This much at least is certain, that it was the port where the Romans commonly landed when they came into this island; and where they departed out of it for the continent⁹⁵. But London very soon became by far the richest and greatest of all the trading towns in Britain. For though this renowned city (designed by Providence to be the chief seat of the British trade and empire in all succeeding ages) was probably founded only between the first Roman invasion under Julius, A. A. C. 55. and the second under Claudius, A. D. 43; yet in less than twenty years after this last event, it is thus described by Tacitus: "Suetonius, with wonderful resolution, marched through the very heart of the enemy's country to London; a city famous for its wealth, and the great number of its merchants; though it was not distinguished by the title of a colony"⁹⁶. It seems indeed probable, that London was founded by the merchants of Gaul and Britain some time in the reign of Augustus, on account of the convenience for the situation for commerce; and that

⁹⁴ Musgrave *Belgium Britannicum*, p. 40.

⁹⁵ Vide Balteley *Antiq. Rutup.*

⁹⁶ Tacit. *Annal* l. 14. c. 33.

this illustrious city owes its origin, as well as a great part of its prosperity and grandeur, to trade. There is hardly any other supposition can account for its becoming so remarkable for its wealth and commerce in so short a time.

It hath been disputed whether the duties that were paid by the British merchants to the Roman government in the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, were levied at the ports on the continent where their goods were landed, or at the ports in this island where they were embarked. It is perhaps impossible to arrive at certainty in this matter; but it seems to be probable, from some passages in Strabo, that in the interval between the first and second invasion, the Romans had publicans settled in the trading towns of Britain, with the consent of the British princes, for collecting their duties on merchandize; which they, from prudential considerations, had agreed to accept of in lieu of the tribute which had been imposed by Julius Cæsar. The reason which that excellent writer gives in one place, why the Romans did not think fit to prosecute the conquest of Britain begun by Cæsar, is this: That though the Britons refused to pay tribute, they consented to pay certain duties on goods exported and imported; and the Romans upon mature consideration, thought it best to accept of those duties, which they imagined would produce very near as much as the tribute would have produced after deducting the expence of the army which would have been

Duties on
merchan-
dize where
paid.

neccessary to enforce the payment of the tribute⁹⁷. This plainly implies that the duties were levied where the tribute would have been levied, i. e. in Britain. For the consent of the Britons was not in the least necessary to enable the Romans to impose what duties they pleased on British goods in the ports on the continent, which were entirely under the Roman dominion. This is confirmed by what the same author says in another place, concerning the earnest endeavours of the British princes to engage the friendship of Augustus by embassies, presents, good offices, and the cheerful payment of duties on goods exported and imported: and that by these means the Romans came to be familiarly acquainted with a great part of Britain; which they could not have been, if some of them had not resided in it for collecting these duties⁹⁸. As soon as the Romans had formed a province in Britain, they certainly established publicans, or officers for collecting the duties on merchandize, in all the trading towns of that province; and extended that establishment as their dominions were enlarged.

Their history, proportion, and manner in which they were collected.

The Portoria, or duties on merchandize, were imposed by the ancient kings of Rome on their subjects, as soon as they had any trade; and though they were abolished at the expulsion of the kings, they were soon after restored, and continued to constitute a very important branch

⁹⁷ Strabo, l. 2. p. 116.

⁹⁸ Ibid. l. 4. p. 200.

of the public revenue, both under the commonwealth, and under the emperors⁹⁹. These duties were imposed in all the provinces of the empire, on all kinds of goods, without exception, that were exported or imported in order to be sold: and those on exports were to be paid before they were embarked, and on imports before they were landed; under the penalty of forfeiting the goods. In order to prevent frauds, the merchants were obliged to give in to the publicans an entry of all their goods exported or imported, with an estimate of their value, in order to ascertain the sum that was to be paid, which was always a certain proportion of the real value; and the publicans had a right to view all the goods, and enquire into the truth of the entry and estimate¹⁰⁰. The proportion of the value of goods exported or imported, that was to be paid by way of custom, was not always the same, but varied according to the exigencies of the state, or dispositions of the emperors; though the fortieth part seems to have been the most ordinary rate¹⁰¹.

It is in vain to attempt to form an exact estimate of the annual value of the duties that were levied by the Romans on the trade of this island. This, at first, was probably no great matter; though even then the emperor Augustus did not think it unworthy of his attention. But as the

Annual amount of these duties.

⁹⁹ Vide Burmanni *Vestigalia Populi Romani*, c. 5. p. 50, &c.

¹⁰⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 56—60.

¹⁰¹ Id. *ibid.* c. 5. p. 64.

people of Britain gradually improved in agriculture, arts, and manufactures under the government of the Romans, their trade increased; both its exports and imports became more various and valuable; and the duties arising from them more considerable. These at last (if we may be allowed to indulge a conjecture) might perhaps amount to five hundred thousand pounds per annum, or a fourth part of the whole revenues of Britain in the most flourishing times of the Roman government¹⁰². This will not appear an extravagant supposition, when, if we reflect, that for one article, as much corn was exported from this island in one year (three hundred and fifty-nine) as loaded eight hundred large ships¹⁰³. It will appear still more credible, when we consider the flourishing state of the internal trade of Britain in the Roman times; and that all the goods that were bought and sold in the public fairs and markets, to which the merchants were by law obliged to bring their goods, paid a tax of the fortieth part of the sum for which they were sold to the government, as well as those that were exported and imported¹⁰⁴. Nay, even those goods that were not sold paid a certain tax or toll for the liberty of exposing them to sale¹⁰⁵. When all these things are taken into the account, the above conjecture concerning the annual amount of the Roman customs

¹⁰² See Chap. III. sect. 3.

¹⁰³ Zosim. Hist. l. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Burmanni Vætigal. Pop. Rom. p. 69. Clarke on Coins, p. 188.

¹⁰⁵ Burmanni Vætigal. Pop. Rom. p. 69.

in Britain in the most flourishing times of their government, will perhaps be thought by many rather too moderate than too high.

All the trade of great Britain, as hath been already observed, was carried on for some ages in the way of barter, and exchange of one commodity for another; a method attended with manifold inconveniences. It must have often happened, that the one party had not the particular kind of goods which the other wanted; or that the two things proposed to be exchanged were not of equal value; and that one or both of them could not be divided, as in the case of living animals, without being destroyed. These, and many other inconveniences attending this primitive mode of commerce, must have been sensibly felt by the ancient Britons, and by all other ancient nations; but it was not very easy to find a remedy. This however was happily invented in very ancient times; though it is not well known where, or by whom; and consisted in constituting certain scarce and precious metals, as gold, silver, and brass, to be the common measures and representatives of all commodities, and the great medium of commerce. These metals were admirably adapted to answer this purpose; as they were scarce, of great intrinsic value, durable, portable, and divisible into as many parts as was necessary without loss¹⁰⁶. This was the true origin of money;

Origin of
money.

¹⁰⁶ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 281.

which,

which, notwithstanding all the general declamations of poets, moralists, and divines against it, hath certainly proved one of the most useful of human inventions, and the great means of promoting a free and universal intercourse among mankind, for their common good.

When metals were first used as money, and made the common prices of all commodities, their value was determined only by their weight.

Origin of
coin,

The seller having agreed to accept of a certain quantity of gold, silver, or brass for his goods, the buyer cut off that quantity from the plate or ingot of that metal in his possession; and having weighed it, delivered it to the seller, and received the goods¹⁰⁷. But this method of transacting business was attended with much trouble, and liable to various frauds, both in the weight and fineness of the metals used in commerce. To remedy these inconveniences, it was ordained by the laws of several ancient nations, that all the metals that were to be used as money, should be divided into pieces of certain determinate forms and magnitudes, stamped with certain marks, by which every person might know at first sight, the weight, fineness, and value of each piece¹⁰⁸. By this happy improvement, the one party was saved the trouble of cutting and weighing his money in every pay-

¹⁰⁷ Gen. c. 23. v. 16. Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 282.

¹⁰⁸ Id. *ibid*, v. 1. p. 283, 284. Clarke on Coins, p. 392, 393.

ment,

ment, and the other secured from frauds in the weight or fineness of that money. This was the true origin of coin; by which money became more current, and commercial transactions were very much facilitated.

It is impossible to discover the precise time when money first began to be used in this island, or by whom it was introduced. Both the Phœnicians and Greeks were very well acquainted with the nature and use of money when they traded into Britain; but we have no evidence that they communicated any knowledge of it to the ancient Britons. It is more probable that both these trading nations took advantage of their ignorance, and concealed from them the nature and value of money, that they might purchase their commodities for some trifling trinkets. The people of Gaul could hardly fail to acquire the knowledge of money in very ancient times, either from the Greeks of Marseilles, or the Phœnicians of Spain; and when once it was generally known and used in Gaul, it could not be long a secret in Britain. It is therefore most probable, that the use of money was introduced into this island from the opposite continent, by merchants who came to trade, or colonies which came to settle in it, not very long before the first Roman invasion. For at the time of that invasion, money, or the use of metals as a medium in commerce, seems to have been but newly introduced; and coin, properly so called, to have been still unknown, or only made

When introduced into Britain.

made of brass. “The Britons use either brass money, or rings and plates of iron, of a determinate weight, by way of money ¹⁰⁹.”

Passage of
Cæsar's
examined.

This remarkable passage (of which the original is given) is variously used, and differently understood by antiquaries; some read the first part of the sentence thus—*Utuntur aut ære*—they use either brass, &c. and from thence infer that the brass which the Britons used by way of money, was unstamped and uncoined, as well as the iron, and consisted only of pieces of a certain known weight ¹¹⁰.

Others read it thus—*Utuntur autem nummo æreo*—or—*Utuntur aut æreo*, and suppose the substantive *nummo* to be understood—“They use brass money;” and from this reading they conclude, that the brass money which the Britons used was coined; though the iron which they used (*pro nummo*) by way of money, was not coined, but only made into rings and plates of a certain weight ¹¹¹. Both these opinions are supported by their respective advocates with no little learning and accuteness; but there is still room to doubt on which side the truth lies. As the latter part of the above passage from Cæsar's Commentaries, respecting the iron tallies used by the ancient Britons as money, is very clear, so the truth of it is confirmed by several large

¹⁰⁹ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. *Utuntur aut æreo, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.*

¹¹⁰ Mr. Pegge's Essay on Cunobelin's Coins, p. 34, 35.

¹¹¹ Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall, p. 266.

hoards of this old iron money, without any impression, having been found in different places¹¹².

If the Britons had any gold or silver among them, either coined or uncoined, when they were first invaded by the Romans, it was certainly unknown to their invaders. For though Cæsar mentions the tin, lead, and iron which their country produced, and the brasse, which they imported, he says not one word of either gold or silver: and some of his companions in that expedition wrote to their friends at Rome in plain terms, that Britain yielded neither gold nor silver¹¹³. But a very considerable number of gold coins were found, A. D. 1749. on the top of Karn-bre hill, in Cornwall: which are well described by the learned Dr. Borlase, and clearly proved to have belonged to the ancient Britons; and, as he thinks, were coined by them before the first invasion¹¹⁴. His arguments, however, in support of this last point, are not so conclusive as to overbalance the direct testimony of Cæsar and Quintus Cicero; especially when we consider that they were prompted, both by their avarice and curiosity, to be very diligent in their enquiries after these precious metals, and that they had the best opportunities of procuring information. It is therefore most

Gold and
silver
coins.

¹¹² Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall, p. 275.

¹¹³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. M. Tullii Epist. ad Familiar. tom. 1. l. 7. ep. 7.

¹¹⁴ Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall, c. 12.

probable,

probable, that these Karn-bre coins, which are of pure gold, were struck by the authority and direction of some of the British princes in these parts, some time between the first invasion under Julius Cæsar, and the second under Claudius. It is very certain that the Britons improved very much in all the arts in that interval, by their more free and frequent intercourse with the continent; where the arts were also in a progressive state. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose, that some of the Gauls retiring from their country to avoid the Roman yoke, and settling in Britain, which was still free after the retreat of Cæsar, brought with them the art of coining money, in the same taste in which it was practised in Gaul, immediately before the conquest of that country by the Romans; when a new and more beautiful manner was introduced. This conjecture is confirmed by the remarkable resemblance of these coins to those of the ancient Gauls; which is so striking, that not a few have imagined that they are really Gaulish coins, and were brought into this country by some merchants on account of trade¹¹⁵.

By whom
gold and
silver were
discovered
in Britain.

It is also not improbable, that some of those Gauls who settled in Britain soon after Cæsar's retreat, were the first who discovered that this island was not destitute of gold; and so furnished the Britons with the most precious materials, as well as with the art of coining. For

¹¹⁵ Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall, c. 12. p. 270.

Gaul had long been famous for the abundance of its gold, and the Gauls for their dexterity in discovering, refining, and working that metal¹¹⁶. There is one peculiarity in the coins now under consideration, that makes it still more probable that they were the workmanship of the Gauls, or of some who had been instructed by them. These coins are all of pure gold, without any alloy or mixture of baser metals; and the Gauls made not only their coins, but their rings, chains, and other trinkets, of pure gold, without alloy¹¹⁷.

Whoever was the person who first discovered that this island produced gold and silver, it is certain that this discovery was made not long after the first invasion of the Romans. For Strabo, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius, mentions gold and silver among the productions of Britain¹¹⁸: and his testimony is confirmed by Tacitus, who says,—“ Britain produces gold, silver, and other metals, to reward its conquerors.”¹¹⁹

The Britons being now furnished with the materials, and some imperfect knowledge of the art of coining money, gradually improved in this art, and soon produced coins of gold, silver, and brass, far more beautiful and perfect in all respects, than those found at Carn-bre, which seem to have been among the first productions

Progress
of coining
money in
Britain.

¹¹⁶ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 27. p. 350.

¹¹⁷ Id. *ibid*.

¹¹⁸ Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

¹¹⁹ Tacit. *vita Agric.* c. 12.

of the British mint. The figures of human heads on one side, and horses, trees, wheels, &c. on the other side of the Karn-bre coins, are in a much ruder and more clumsy taste than those on the British coins in Speed and Camden. But the greatest and most obvious difference between these two sets of coins, consists in this; that the latter have legends or inscriptions, and the former have none. This is a demonstration that a very material change and improvement had been made in the art of coining, between the time in which the Karn-bre and those other British coins were struck.

Figures stamped on the most ancient coins.

The figures that were first stamped on the coins of all nations, especially of those nations whose chief riches consisted in their flocks and herds, were those of oxen, horses, hogs, and sheep¹²⁰. The reason of this seems to have been, that before these nations were acquainted with money, they had used their cattle as money, and purchased with them every thing they wanted; and therefore, when they became acquainted with the nature of money, as a representative of all commodities, they stamped it with the figures of these animals, which among them it chiefly represented¹²¹. From hence we may conclude, that those coins of any country, which have only the figures of cattle stamped upon them, and perhaps of trees, representing

¹²⁰ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 3. § 13. Columella, c. 7. in præf.

¹²¹ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 2. p. 311.

the woods in which these cattle pastured, were the most ancient coins of that country¹²². Some of the gold coins found at Karn-bre, in Cornwall, and described by Dr. Borlase, are of this kind, and may therefore justly be esteemed the most ancient of our British coins.

When sovereigns became sensible of the great importance of money, and took the fabrication of it under their own direction, they began to command their own heads to be stamped on one side of their coins; while the figures of some animals still continued to be impressed on the other side. Of this kind are some of the Karn-bre coins, with a royal head on one side, and a horse on the other; which we may therefore suppose to have been struck in a more advanced state of the British coinage, and which we may call the second stage of its improvement¹²³.

Heads of
princes
stamped on
coins.

When the knowledge and use of letters were once introduced into any country where money was coined, it would not be long before they appeared on its coins; expressing the names of the princes whose heads were impressed upon them: of the places where they were coined, and other circumstances. This was a very great improvement in the art of coining, and gave an additional value to money; by making it preserve the memories of princes, and afford lights to history. Nor were our British ancestors unacquainted with this great improvement before

Legends
on coins.

¹²² Plate in Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall,

¹²³ Id. *ibid*.

they were subdued by the Romans. For several of our ancient British coins which are preserved in the cabinets of the curious, and have been engraved in Speed, Camden, Pegge, and others, have very plain and perfect legends or inscriptions, and on that account merit particular attention.

Cunobeline's
coins.

The far greatest number of the ancient British coins which have been found with inscriptions upon them, appear from these inscriptions to have been coined in the reign and by the authority of Cunobeline; a prince who flourished in this island between the first and second Roman invasion. The learned Mr. Pegge hath published an engraving of a very complete collection of these coins of Cunobeline, to the number of thirty-nine, with an essay upon them; from which the following brief account of them is for the most part extracted¹²⁴. These coins are of different metals; some of them gold, others of silver, and others of brass, but all of them very much debased. They are all circular, though not perfectly flat, most of them being a little disked, some more, some less, with one side concave, and the other convex. The taste in which they are executed is good, and the figures upon them are much more elegant than those on the Karn-bre coins above mentioned, or on the ancient Gallic coins in Mountfaucon¹²⁵.

¹²⁴ See an Essay on the Coins of Cunobeline. London 1766.

¹²⁵ Montfaucon Antiq. tom. 3. p. 88. plate 52.

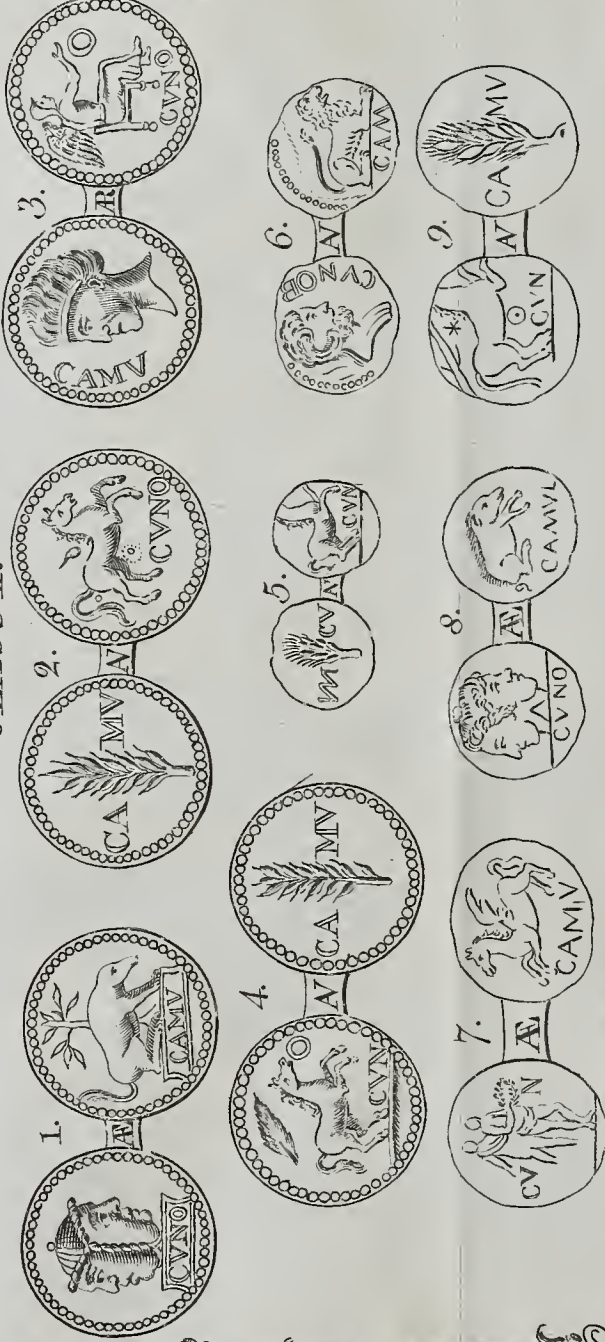


TAB. I.

CLASS I.



CLASS II.



CLASS III.



The Letters upon them are all Roman, and for the most part fair and well-shaped. They are very properly arranged by Mr. Pegge, under the six following classes:

Divided
into six
classes.

Class I. Contains those that have only the king's name, or some abbreviation of it.

II. Those that have the king's name, with a place of coinage.

III. Those that have the king's name, with TASCIA, or some abbreviation of that word.

IV. Those that have the king's name, with TASCIA, and a place of coinage.

V. Those that have TASCIA only.

VI. Those that have TASCIA, with a place of coinage.

In the first class are six coins, but all differing in some particulars. The first coin is of silver, having the king's head, and the name CVNOBILINE around it on one side, and a fine horse, with a crescent or new moon above his back, on the reverse. The second coin is also of silver, having the syllable CVN in a straight line on both sides; on the obverse there is no head, but on the reverse there is the figure of a naked man at full length, in a walking attitude, with a club over his shoulder. The third coin hath the same inscription and figure with the second, and differs from it only in the metal, which is copper, and in the size, which is smaller. The fourth coin is of copper, with the syllable CVN in a straight

1st Class;

line, without any head on the obverse; and on the reverse the figure of an animal, which some antiquaries take to be a horse, and others a dog or a sheep. The fifth coin in this class is taken from Mr. Selden's *Titles of Honour*, part I. c. 8. On the obverse is the king's head, adorned with a diadem, or fillet of pearls, with the name CVNOBELIN inscribed around. The metal and the reverse are mentioned by Mr. Selden. The sixth and last coin in this class is of gold, blank on the obverse; on the reverse it hath a fine horse upon the gallop, over him a hand holding a truncheon, a pearl or pellet at a little distance from each end of it, and above it CVNO; under the horse the figure of a serpent wriggling.

2d Class.

In the second class are nine coins; no two of which are exactly alike in all respects. The first is of brass; having on the obverse a Janus, with CVNO below it; and on the reverse the figures of a hog and a tree, and under them CAMV, supposed to be an abbreviation of Camulodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, and the place of coinage. The second is of gold; on the obverse an ear of corn and CAMV; on the reverse a horse, with the figure of a comet above his back, and of a wheel under his belly, and CVNO. The third is of silver; having on the obverse the king's head, and CAMV; and on the reverse a female figure sitting in a chair, with wings at her shoulders, supposed to be victory, and CVNO under the chair. The fourth coin differs only from the second in this, that the figure above the horse's

horse's back is that of the leaf of a tree, and the wheel is placed before his mouth, and not under his belly. The fifth is a small gold coin; having on the obverse an ear of corn, which is supposed to indicate the place of coinage; and on the reverse a horse, with CVN. The sixth is a gold coin; having on the obverse a head with a beard and CVNOB; and on the reverse a lion couchant, with CAM. The seventh is of brass; on the obverse two human figures standing, supposed to be Cunobeline and his queen, with CVN; and on the reverse a Pegasus or winged horse, with CAMV. The eighth coin differs only from the first of this class in this, that there is no tree on the reverse. The ninth is of gold; on the obverse a horse curvetting, with a wheel under his belly, and CVN, and a star over his back; on the reverse an ear of corn and CAMV.

The third class comprehends ten coins, all different in some particulars from each other. 3d Class.

1. A brass coin; on the obverse the king's head, with CVNOBILIN around it: on the reverse a workman sitting in a chair, with a hammer in his hand, coining money; of which several pieces appear on the ground, and TASCIO. 2. A silver coin; on the obverse a laureate crown with CVNO inscribed; on the reverse a Pegasus, with TASCE below. 3. A silver coin; with the king's head on the obverse, and CVNO; and on the reverse a sphinx, with TASCIO. 4. On the obverse the king's head, with CVNOBILIN; and on the

reverse a horse, with TASCIO. 5. An elegant copper coin; having on the obverse the king's head, with his name latinised CVNOBELINVS RE; and on the reverse the figure of an ox, and below it TASC. 6. A copper coin; on the obverse a female head, probably the queen's, with CVNOBELIN; and the reverse very nearly the same with that of the first coin in this class. 7. A silver coin; having a female head on the obverse, with CVNO; and on the reverse a fine sphinx, with TASCIO. 8. Is also silver; with the king's head and CVNOBILIN on the obverse; and a fine horse galloping on the reverse, with TASCIO. 9. Differs very little from the first in this class. 10. Is a copper coin; with the king's head laureated, and CVNOBILIN on the obverse; a horse with some faint traces of TASCIA on the reverse.

4th Class.

The fourth class contains six coins, which are remarkably fine. 1. Is a silver coin; having the king's head on the obverse, with TASC behind it; and before the face NOVANE, which is believed to be an abbreviation of the name of some town, or of some people; and on the reverse Apollo playing on the harp, with CVNOBE. 2. Is also a silver coin; and hath on the obverse the king's head helmeted, with CVNOBELINE; and on the reverse a hog, with TASCIOVANIT; though it is imagined that the two II in the middle was originally an N, which will make the legend on the reverse of this coin nearly the same with that on the obverse of the preceding one. 3. A fine copper coin; having on the obverse the king

on

CLASS S III continued



CLASS IV.

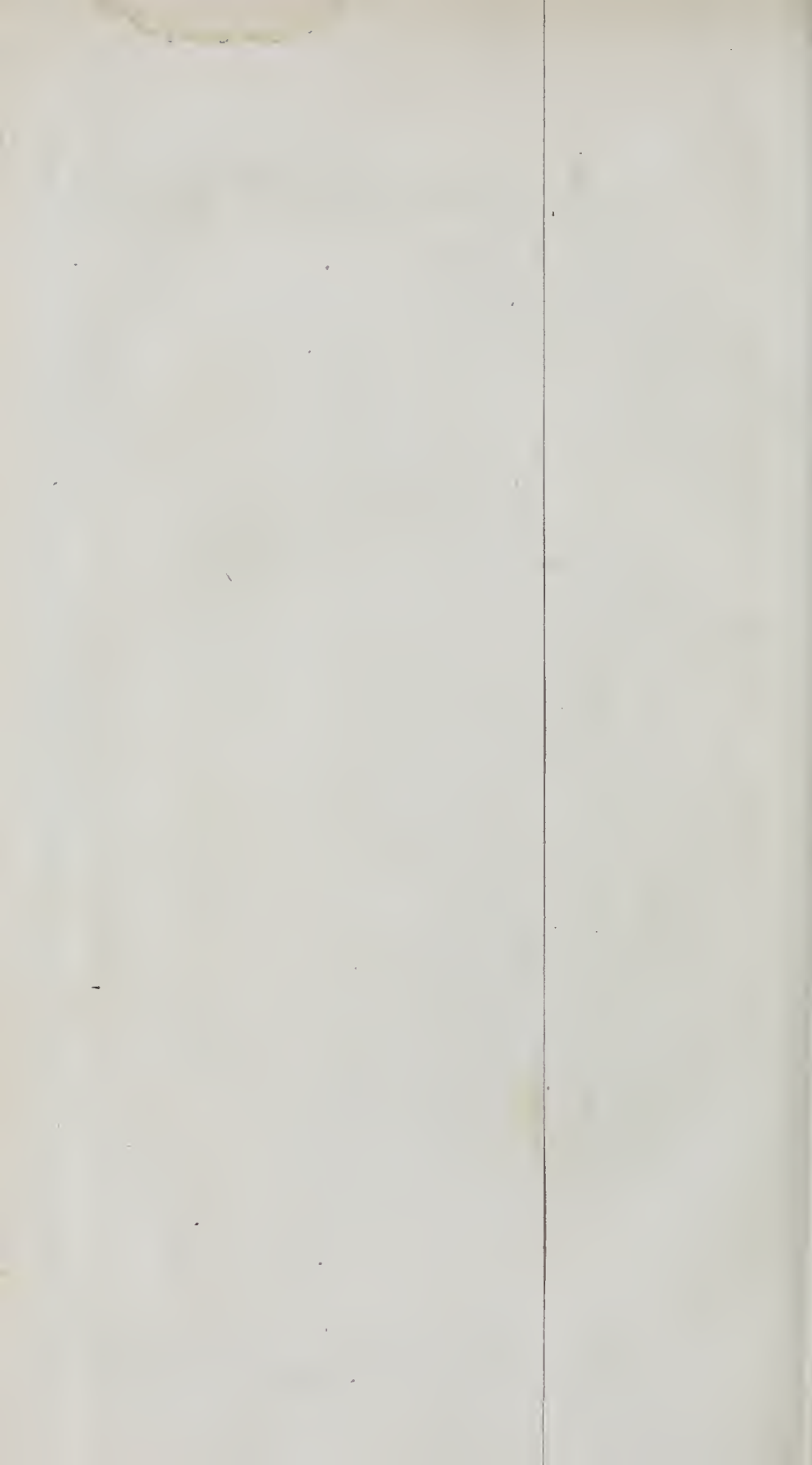


CLASS V.



CLASS VI.





on horfeback at full gallop, with CVNO: and on the reverfe the king on foot, with the helmet on his head, a fpear in his right-hand, and a round target in his left, with TASC NO. 4. This coin doth not differ much from the firft one in this clafs. 5. Is a copper coin; having the king's head, with CVNOBELIN on the obverfe; and a centaur blowing a horn, with TASCIOVANIT on the reverfe. 6. Is a filver coin; with a figure believed to be Hercules, and CVNO on the obverfe; a woman riding fide-ways on an animal which hath very much the appearance of a dog, with TASC NOVA on the reverfe.

The fifth clafs contains fix coins. 1. Is a fine 5th Clafs. filver coin; with a Roman head laureated, fupposed to be that of the emperor Auguftus, and TASCIA on the obverfe; and a bull pushing with his horns on the reverfe. 2. A gold coin having the king on horfeback, with TASC on the obverfe; the reverfe is crowded with figures, which are not now underftood. 3. A fine filver coin, with a griffin on the obverfe; and a pegafus and TAS on the reverfe. 4. This coin is of gold, and differs very little from the fecond. 5. A filver coin; having a horfe with a fhield in the form of a lozenge hanging on his fide on the obverfe; and TASC within a compartment on the reverfe. 6. This coin is of electrum, with a horfe on the gallop, and TASC on the obverfe; and TASCIO on the reverfe. There is a coin in Mr. Threfby's Mufeum, p. 338. which might alfo be ranged in this clafs; having a head on the obverfe,

obverse, and a dog with TA under a man on horseback, on the reverse.

6th Class. The sixth class contains only two coins. 1. Is of silver; with VER, supposed to be an abbreviation of Verulamium, on the obverse; a horse galloping with TASCIA on the reverse. 2. A fine gold coin; having a man on horseback, with a sword in his right-hand, and a target in his left-hand on the obverse; and CEARATIC, which Mr. Pegge supposes to be the name of some town in the territories of Cunobeline now unknown; but others, perhaps more truly, believe to be the name of the renowned Caratacus, or Caractacus; on the reverse an ear of corn, and TASCIE.

Meaning
of the word
TASCIA.

The word TASCIO or TASCIA, which, or some abbreviation of it, appears on so many of these ancient British coins, hath greatly puzzled our antiquaries; who have formed several different opinions concerning its meaning. Mr. Camden, Mr. Baxter, Dr. Pettingal, and others, have imagined that this word is derived from Task, or Tascu, which in the original language of Britain signified any load, burthen, or tribute imposed by the Tag, or prince; and that all the money which had Tascia, or any of its abbreviations upon it, had been coined for no other purpose but to pay the tribute which had been imposed upon the Britons by Julius Cæsar, and the Portaria or duties upon merchandize, which had been exacted by Augustus and his successors ¹²⁶.

¹²⁶ Camden, v. i. p. cix. 351. Baxt. Gloss. Brit. voce Tascia. Dr. Pettingal's Dissert. on Tascia. London 1763.

Mr.

Mr. Camden hath improved upon this thought, by supposing—"These coins were stamped for
 "the payment of the tribute of the greater
 "cattle with a horse, for the lesser with a hog,
 "for woods with a tree, and for corn ground
 "with an ear of corn¹²⁷." But though these opinions are specious, and supported by great names, they are liable to strong objections. The derivation of Tascio, from Tag, a prince, by the intervention of Tascu, a burthen or task, is far from being clear. Money coined for the sole purpose of paying tribute, is a thing unknown in the history of mankind; and it is not probable that Cunobeline, who was a free and independent prince, the friend, but not the subject of the Roman emperors, would have admitted a word of such ignominious import as Tascio is in this sense, upon his coins¹²⁸.

A modern author, dissatisfied with the above interpretation of the word Tascio, hath proposed another. He supposes that Tascio is an abbreviation of the name of some nation or people to whom this money belonged, and of which Cunobeline was king; and finding in Pliny, lib. 3. c. 4. a people of Gallia Narbonensis, called Tascodunitari Cononienses, in the MSS. Tascoduni Taruconiences, he conjectures that Cunobelin Tascio may mean Cunobelin Tascodunorum¹²⁹. But this is certainly a far-fetched and

¹²⁷ Camd. Brit. v. 1. p. cxiii.

¹²⁸ Mr. Pegge's Essay on Cunobeline's Coins, p. 25, &c.

¹²⁹ Wise Dissert. in Numm. Bodl. Catalog. p. 227.

impro-

improbable conjecture. For these coins being found in Britain in great numbers, and having the name of Cunobeline upon them, who is well known to have been a great British prince, cotemporary with Augustus and Tiberius, and on some of them an abbreviation of Camulodunum, his royal seat, it amounts to a demonstration that they are British coins, and have nothing to do with so distant a country as Gallia Narbonensis, where no such coins have ever been found.

Another modern writer hath conjectured that Tascio was the name of Cunobeline's mint-master, who struck all these coins ¹³⁰. This, it must be confessed, is a much more feasible notion than the former; though it is not without its difficulties. In particular, it is a little strange, that this word, if it was a proper name, should have been spelled by the owner of it in so many different ways, as Tascio, Tascia, Tascie.

Other
coins be-
sides Cuno-
beline's.

Besides these numerous coins of Cunobeline, there are many others engraved and described in Speed, Camden, &c. which are supposed to have been coined by the authority of Cassibelanus, Comius, Prasutagus, Boadicia, Bericus, Catimandua, Venutius, Caractacus, and other ancient British princes ¹³¹.

The greatest part of these coins are indeed so much defaced, and the faint traces of letters

¹³⁰ Mr. Pegge's Essay on Cunobeline's Coins, p. 55.

¹³¹ Speed's Chron. p. 173, &c. &c. Camd. Brit. v. 1. p. cix, &c.

upon

upon them are so variously read, that it is impossible to discover with certainty to whom they belong¹³². We have sufficient reason, however, to conclude in general, that several other British princes who flourished between the first and second invasion of this island by the Romans, coined money as well as Cunobeline; though as he reigned very long, and over that part of Britain which was richest, and had the greatest trade, he coined much greater quantities than any of the other princes; which is one great reason why so many of his coins are still extant.

The coins of Cunobeline above described afford a convincing proof of that friendly and familiar intercourse which Strabo tells us subsisted between the Romans and Britons in the reign of Augustus; and that the Roman arts, manners, and religion, had even then gained some footing in this island¹³³. For on these coins we see almost all the Roman letters, and many of the Roman Deities, which is a demonstration that some of the Britons at least could read these letters, and that they had some knowledge of, and some veneration for, these Deities. Nay, the legend of one of these coins (CVNOBELINVS REX) is in the Latin language, which seems to intimate that the Britons were not then ignorant of that language. For though these coins might be, and probably were struck by a Roman artist, yet we cannot imagine that Cunobeline would

Observations on these coins.

¹³² Pegge's Essay on Cunobeline's Coins.

¹³³ Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

permit this artist to stamp letters, words, figures, and devices upon the current coin of his kingdom, which neither he nor his subjects understood.

Weight
and value
of the British
coins.

Though the original weight and value of these ancient British coins cannot be exactly ascertained, yet when we consider that they were struck by Roman artists, and that one design of them was to pay the duties on merchandize to the Roman publicans, we will be inclined to think that they were probably of the same weight and value, and bore the same proportion to each other, with the Roman coins of that age, which are well known.

Quantity
of coin in
Britain be-
tween the
first and
second in-
vasion.

It is very difficult to form any computation of the quantity of money that circulated in Britain between the first and second invasion of the Romans; though there are some things that seem to indicate that it was not inconsiderable. We have no fewer than forty coins of Cunobeline alone, in gold, silver, and copper, which are all of different dies or stamps. This is a proof that this prince had made forty coinages at least; which must have produced a considerable quantity of coin; to say nothing of what was coined by other British princes in that period. Profutagus, who was king of the Iceni at the time of the second invasion, is represented by Tacitus as a prince renowned for his great wealth; a part of which, no doubt, consisted of his treasures of money¹³⁴. Caractacus, in his famous speech to

¹³⁴ Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 31.

the emperor Claudius, speaks in very high terms, not only of the abundance of his subjects, horses, and arms, but also of the greatness of his wealth in general ¹³⁵. London is described as a very opulent trading city, inhabited by great numbers of wealthy merchants, in less than twenty years after the second invasion; which makes it probable, that it was rich in money and merchandise before that event ¹³⁶. Nay, Tacitus tells us in plain terms, that Britain had sufficient quantities of gold and silver, amply to reward all the toils and dangers of its conquerors ¹³⁷. Upon the whole, there is sufficient evidence that the commerce of this island, especially of the south coasts of it, was considerable; and that it did not want a sufficient quantity of current coin for answering all the purposes of that commerce, when it was invaded and subdued by the Romans under Claudius, A. D. 43.

The Roman conquest occasioned a total change in the coin of Britain, and in a little time very much increased its quantity. For as soon as Claudius and his generals had deprived the British princes of their authority, and reduced their dominions into the form of a province, their coin and that of their predecessors, was no longer the current coin of the country; but the Roman money, stamped with the faces and titles of the Roman emperors, was substituted in its place.

Change in
the coin of
Britain.

¹³⁵ Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 37.

¹³⁶ Id. ibid. l. 14. c. 33.

¹³⁷ Id. vita Agric. c. 12.

“ It was enacted by an edict of the Roman emperors, enforced by very severe sanctions, that no person should use any money in Britain, but such as was stamped with the effigies of Cæsar ¹³⁸.” This edict soon produced its full effect, and all the British money was either concealed or melted down, and nothing appeared in circulation but Roman money. “ Britain (says Gildas) after it was subdued and rendered tributary by the Romans ought rather to have been called a Roman than a British island; as all the gold, silver, and copper money in it was stamped with the image of Cæsar ¹³⁹.”

Quantity
of coin in-
creased.

That the Roman conquest not only changed the species, but very much increased the quantity of the current coin of this island, we have many reasons to believe. The pay of the Roman forces which were employed in subduing and keeping possession of it, must have brought into it a great mass of treasure, in a long course of years. Several of the Roman emperors not only visited this remote province of their empire, but some of them resided, and kept their courts in it for two or three years together; which must have brought in a great deal of money. Many wealthy Romans who had obtained civil or military employments here, who had come hither on account of trade, procured grants or purchased lands in this pleasant and fertile country, settled in it, and increased its wealth. So early as the reign of

¹³⁸ Sheringham, p. 391.

¹³⁹ Gildæ, Hist. in Præf.

Nero,

Nero, and only about twenty years after the conquest of Claudius, Tacitus speaks of London and Verulan as rich and populous cities, inhabited chiefly by Romans, of whom many were wealthy merchants¹⁴⁰. The great improvements that were made by the Britons, with the assistance, and under the direction of the Romans, in agriculture, arts, and commerce, gradually increased the treasures of their country, and not only enabled them to pay the several taxes levied by the Romans, but added, from time to time, to its riches. The great quantities of Roman coins which have been accidentally found in almost every part of Britain, serve to confirm the above conjectures, and afford a kind of ocular demonstration of their original abundance. Upon the whole, we have sufficient reasons to be convinced, that there were greater quantities of current coin in our country in the flourishing times of the Roman government, than at any period for more than a thousand years after their departure.

The wealth and prosperity of provincial Britain began to decline very sensibly about fifty years before the last retreat of the Romans. This was owing, partly to the incursions of the Scots and Picts, in the north, and the depredations of the Saxon pirates in the south; by which much wealth, in money and other things, was carried off, and more destroyed, or buried in the ruins of those towns and cities which they laid in

Wealth
and commerce of
Britain began to decline.

¹⁴⁰ Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.

ashes. The two unfortunate expeditions of the usurpers Maximus and Constantine to the continent, the former of which happened, A. D. 383, and the latter A. D. 408. were also very fatal to the wealth, as well as to the power of the provincial Britons¹⁴¹. For these two adventurers collected and carried off with them great sums of money to support their armies, and prosecute their pretensions to the imperial throne. In this period likewise, many of the richest inhabitants of the Roman province, finding no security for their persons or possessions in this island, converted their estates into money, with which they retired to the continent¹⁴².

Destroyed
by the de-
parture of
the Ro-
mans.

But the final and almost total departure of the Romans out of Britain, drained it of the greatest quantities of coin, and reduced it almost to the same state of poverty in which they had found it. For nothing can be more improbable than the conjecture of some writers, that the Romans at their departure did not carry their money with them, but buried it in the ground, in hopes of their returning back¹⁴³. It is certain they entertained no such hopes, but left this island with a declared and positive resolution never to return. Their departure was neither forced nor precipitate, but voluntary and gradual, which gave them opportunities of carrying off with them whatever they thought proper. We may therefore con-

¹⁴¹ See Chap. 1.

¹⁴² Ibid. Zosim. l. 6.

¹⁴³ Speed's Chron. p. 187. Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. p. 11.

clude that the Romans, when they took their leave of this island, carried with them almost all their cash, and even many of their most precious and portable effects; and left little behind them that could be conveniently transported.

As the great end of commerce is to supply the wants of one district or country out of the superfluities of another for their mutual benefit, some means of conveying commodities from one country to another are absolutely necessary to answer this end. For this reason, the carriage of goods from place to place is a matter of the greatest moment in commerce, and is performed either by land or water.

Means of transporting goods of great importance in commerce.

The carriage of goods from one place to another by land, which is called land-carriage, is performed in the first stage of society by the mere bodily strength of men; in the next, by the assistance of such tame animals as are stronger than men; and in the last and most improved state, by the help of wheel-machines, yoked to these animals, which enable them to draw a much greater weight than they could carry. The ancient Britons were not unacquainted with this last and most perfect method of land-carriage yet discovered, long before they were invaded by the Romans. For they had not only great numbers of war-chariots, but also many other wheel-carriages for other purposes, and particularly for conveying their goods and merchandize from one place to another. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Britons who dwell near the promontory

Land-carriage.

Belerium (Land's-end), after they had refined their tin, and cast it into square blocks, carried it to the Isle of Wight in carts or waggons; the space between that isle and the continent being in these times dry land, when the tide was out ¹⁴⁴.

Roads and
bridges.

But though the ancient Britons were not unacquainted with the construction and use of wheel-carriages for the purposes of commerce, yet their conveyance of goods from one part of the country to another must have been retarded, by their want of solid roads, and interrupted by their want of bridges over rivers. Both these obstructions were removed by the art and industry of the Romans, who, by making the most firm, dry, and spacious roads in all parts, and building bridges where they were necessary, rendered land-carriage as easy and convenient as it is at present.

Origin and
progress
of water-
carriage.

In the first stage of society, great rivers, lakes and seas must have appeared insurmountable obstacles to all intercourse between those who inhabited their opposite banks and shores. But when mankind became a little better acquainted with their properties, and observed that many bodies, and particularly the largest trees, floated on their waters, and were carried along their streams with great rapidity and ease; they would by degrees change their opinion of them, and begin to entertain a notion, that they might be made the

¹⁴⁴ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 22. p. 347.

means of communication between one country and another. Some men of bold and daring spirits, would adventure to commit themselves to the streams of smaller, and afterwards of larger rivers, upon two or three trees fastened together; and finding that they carried them with ease and safety, and that when they joined a greater number of trees, they became capable of supporting a greater number of men, and a greater quantity of goods; they learnt to transport themselves and their effects from one place to another on floats or rafts. This is believed by many authors to have been the first kind of water-carriage¹⁴⁵. To these rafts succeeded canoes, made of one very large tree excavated, to secure its freight from being wetted or washed away¹⁴⁶. But as these canoes could neither contain many men nor much merchandize, it would soon be found necessary to construct artificial vessels of greater capacity and burden, by joining several pieces of wood together, by different means, so compactly as to exclude the water. For want of proper tools for sawing large trees into planks, the most ancient vessels or boats in several countries were made of osiers, and the flexible branches

¹⁴⁵ Origin of Laws, Arts and Sciences, v. 1. p. 288. and the authors there quoted.

¹⁴⁶ *Tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas.*

Then first on seas the hollow alder swam.

Virg. Georg. I. v. 136.

of trees interwoven as close as possible, and covered with skins ¹⁴⁷.

Ancient
British
boats and
ships.

It was probably in such slender vessels as these, that some bold adventurers first launched out from the nearest coasts of Gaul, and passing the narrow sea that flows between, landed, in an auspicious moment, on the shore of this inviting island; and being followed by others of both sexes in their successful attempt, began to people the country which they had discovered. This much at least is certain, from the concurring testimony of many authors, that the most ancient Britons made use of boats of this construction for several ages. Pliny tells us, that Timæus, a very ancient historian, whose works are now lost, had related, that the people of Britain used to sail to an island at the distance of six days sailing, in boats made of wattles, and covered with skins ¹⁴⁸. These kind of boats were still in use here in Cæsar's time, who acquaints us that he transported his army over a river in Spain, in boats made in imitation of those that he had seen in Britain, which he thus describes: " Their
" keels and ribs were made of slender pieces of
" wood, and their bodies woven with wattles,
" and covered with skins." These boats were so light that they were carried in carts no less than twenty-two miles,

¹⁴⁷ Cæf. de Bel. Civ. l. 1. c. 54. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 7. § 57.

¹⁴⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 16. § 30.

These ancient British vessels are also described by Lucan and Festus Avienus, in the verses quoted below ¹⁴⁹. Solinus gives the same account of the boats in which the ancient inhabitants of Ireland and Caledonia used to pass the sea which divides these two countries. “The sea which flows between Britain and Ireland is so unquiet and stormy, that it is only navigable in summer; when the people of these countries pass and repass it in small boats made of wattles, and covered carefully with the hides of oxen ¹⁵⁰.” But though it is thus evident that the ancient British inhabitants, both of the south and north part of this island, navigated their rivers, and even had the boldness to cross the narrow seas to Gaul and Ireland in these wicker boats, we cannot from hence conclude that they had no vessels of a larger size, better construction, and more solid materials. The singular and uncommon form of these boats, is perhaps the reason that they are so much taken notice of by ancient writers; while those of a better form, and more like the ships of other countries, are seldom

¹⁴⁹ Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
 Texitur in puppim, cœsoque inducta juvenco
 Victoris patiens, tumidum circumnatat amnem.
 Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
 Navigat Oceano Luc. Pharsal. l. 4.
 rei ad miraculum
 Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
 Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt Sælum.

Fest. Avienus in Oris Marit.

¹⁵⁰ Solin, c. 35. p. 166.

mentioned. It is however very probable that they were not altogether destitute of such ships, even before they were invaded by the Romans. For we are told by Cæsar, "That the sea-coasts of Britain were possessed by colonies which had lately come from Gaul, and still retained the names of the several states from whence they came"¹⁵¹. Now as these colonies came with a design to make war, in order to force a settlement (as the same author acquaints us), they must have brought with them great numbers of armed men, together with their wives and children, and perhaps their most valuable effects. This could not be done without fleets of ships of greater capacity and strength than the wicker-boats above described. When they had made good their settlements on the sea-coast of Britain, they would certainly preserve and keep up their fleets, in order to preserve their communication with their countrymen on the continent, for their mutual safety and advantage. Accordingly Cæsar says directly, that the Gauls had constantly received auxiliaries from Britain in all their wars with the Romans; and he gives this as the only reason why he was so impatient to invade this island at so improper a season of the year¹⁵².

The Veneti, who inhabited that promontory of Gaul which is now called Brittany, excelled all the nations on the continent, in their knowledge

¹⁵¹ Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

¹⁵² Ibid. l. 4. c. 20.

of maritime affairs, and in the number and strength of their ships; and yet, when they were preparing to fight a decisive battle against the Romans by sea, they asked and obtained auxiliaries from Britain; which they certainly would not have done, if the Britons could have assisted them only with a few wicker-boats, covered with skins¹⁵³. It is therefore probable, that the people of Britain had ships much of the same form and construction with those of their friends and allies the Veneti, with which they joined their fleet on that occasion. These ships of the Veneti are described by Cæsar as very large, lofty, and strong, built entirely of thick planks of oak, and so solid, that the beaks of the Roman ships could make no impression upon them¹⁵⁴. The combined fleets of the Veneti and Britons, in the famous sea-fight off the coast of Armorica, now Brittany, against the Romans, consisted of two hundred and twenty of these large and strong ships, which were almost all destroyed in that unfortunate engagement; by which the naval power both of Gaul and Britain was entirely ruined¹⁵⁵. This great disaster is believed, by some of the best of our antiquaries and historians, to have been the reason that the Britons never attempted to make any opposition to Cæsar by sea, when the very year after it he invaded their country¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 3. c. 8, 9.¹⁵⁴ Ibid. l. 3. c. 13.¹⁵⁵ Ibid. c. 14, 15, 16.¹⁵⁶ Selden's Mare Clausum, l. 2. c. 2. p. 131, &c. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 7.

Proofs of
these facts
from the
poems of
Ossian.

These conjectures (for we shall call them nothing more) concerning the naval power of the ancient Britons, are very much confirmed by many passages in the works of Ossian. For the poems of that venerable bard are not only valuable for their Poetical beauties, but also for the light which they throw on the history and antiquities of our country; and their authority will be most satisfactory to those who are best acquainted with them.

The poems of Homer are often quoted as the most authentic evidences of facts, especially respecting arts, customs, and manners; and why should not those of our British Homer be intitled to an equal degree of credit? The very name of the British prince who was believed to be the inventor of ships, and the first who conducted a colony out of Britain into Ireland, is preserved in these poems. “Larthon, the first
“of Bolga’s race, who travelled on the winds---
“Who first sent the black ship through ocean,
“like a whale through the bursting of foam.
“He mounts the wave on his own dark oak in
“Cluba’s ridgy bay. That oak which he cut
“from Lumon, to bound along the sea. The
“maids turn their eyes away, lest the king
“should be lowly laid. For never had they
“seen a ship, dark rider of the waves¹⁵⁷!”
This expedition of Larthon must have happened two or three centuries before the first

¹⁵⁷ Ossian’s Poems, v. 2. p. 129. 131.

Roman invasion; and from that period the intercourse between Caledonia and Ireland was frequent; which must have made the people of both countries gradually improve in the arts of building and conducting ships. These arts were so far advanced in the days of Fingal, the illustrious father and favourite hero of Ossian, that he made several expeditions, accompanied by some hundred of his warriors, not only into Ireland, but into Scandinavia, and the islands of the Baltic ¹⁵⁸. The ships, however, of the Caledonian and Irish Britons, in the age of Fingal, were far from being large. Three mariners are represented as sufficient to navigate one of them; which we can hardly suppose capable of carrying more than thirty warriors, with their arms and provisions ¹⁵⁹. For though, if we may believe Solinus, they made it a rule never to eat while they were on their passage between Britain and Ireland, it is not to be imagined that they would undertake a Scandinavian voyage without some provisions ¹⁶⁰. These vessels went both by the help of sails and oars, which were used separately or together, as occasion required; the mariners singing all the while they rowed. “ Spread now (says Fingal “ to the dejected Cuchullin) thy white sails for “ the isle of Mist, and see Bargela leaning on “ her rock. Her tender eye is in tears, and

¹⁵⁸ Ossian's Poems, *passim*.¹⁵⁹ *Id.* v. 1. p. 39.¹⁶⁰ Solinus, c. 35. p. 166.

“ the

“ the winds lift her long hair from her heaving
 “ bosom. She listens to the winds of night to
 “ hear the voice of thy rowers, to hear the
 “ song of the sea ¹⁶¹.” We are not informed
 of what the sails of these ships were made: if
 the epithet white was not often bestowed upon
 them, we should be apt to conjecture that they
 were made of skins, like those of the Veneti in
 Gaul ¹⁶². However this may have been, it ap-
 pears that they made use of thongs of leather
 instead of ropes. “ They lifted up the found-
 “ ing sail; the wind whistled through the
 “ thongs of their masts ¹⁶³.” Though the na-
 ture of Ossian’s work led him only to sing of
 ships employed in military expeditions, yet we
 have good reason to believe that they were also
 employed by merchants in these times and
 places in carrying on their commerce. For there
 is no example in history of a people who abounded
 in ships of war, without sea-trade or merchant-
 ships.

Naviga-
 tion.

The arts of constructing and navigating ships
 are so intimately connected together, that they
 constantly keep pace with each other in their im-
 provements.

As the ancient Britons had not the art of
 building ships of a form, capacity, and strength
 proper for very long voyages, so neither have we
 any reason to believe that they had sufficient

¹⁶¹ Solinus, v. 1. p. 83, 84.

¹⁶² Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 3. c. 13.

¹⁶³ Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 106.

skill in navigation, to be capable of conducting them into very distant countries. This last is one of the most difficult and complicated of all the arts, and requires the greatest length of time to bring it to any tolerable degree of perfection.

As long as the trade of Britain was in the hands of the Phœnicians and Greeks, it was certainly carried on intirely in foreign bottoms; and the Britons probably knew little or nothing of navigation. But when that trade fell into the hands of their neighbours the Gauls, some part of it would, by degrees, come to be carried on in British ships. This might happen either by some of the Gallic merchants and mariners settled in this island, for the conveniency of trade and ship-building, where all the most necessary materials for that purpose abounded: or by some of the most ingenious and enterprising among the Britons learning these arts from the Gauls, in order to share with them in the profits of the trade of their own country. By one or both of these means, some of the Britons who inhabited the sea-coasts opposite to Gaul, began to build small vessels, and to export their own tin, lead, skins, and other commodities to the continent. It is impossible to discover with certainty and precision, when this happened, though it is most probable, on several accounts, that it was at least a century before the first Roman invasion.

The

Observed
the stars.

The first trading voyages of the most ancient Britons were, no doubt, performed with great caution and no little terror, from that part of the island that lay nearest to the continent, that they might never lose sight of land. By degrees, however, they became bolder, and launched out from other parts of the coasts; and by storms they were sometimes driven into latitudes where they beheld nothing but the seas around them, and the heavens above them. In this situation, having no compass to direct their course, they naturally fixed their eyes on the heavenly bodies, as the only objects capable of affording them any direction; and by degrees they acquired such a knowledge of the situation and appearances of certain stars, as was sufficient to guide them in their voyages to several parts of the continent which could not be seen from any part of the British coast.

We learn from the poems of Ossian, that the ancient Britons of Caledonia steered their course by certain stars, in their voyages to Ireland and Scandinavia. “I bade my white sails, (says Fingal) to rise before the roar of Cona’s wind—When the night came down, I looked on high for fiery-haired Ul-crim. Nor wanting was the star of Heaven: it travelled red between the clouds: I pursued the lovely beam on the faint-gleaming deep¹⁶⁴.”

¹⁶⁴ Ossian’s Poems, v. 2. p. 66.

In another passage of these poems, no fewer than seven of these stars, which were particularly observed by the British sailors, are named and described, as they were embossed on the shield of Cathmor, chief of Atha. "Seven bosses rose on the shield—On each boss is placed a star of night; Can-mathon with beams unshorn; Colderno rising from a cloud; Uloicho robed in mist—Cathlin glittering on a rock; Reldurath half sinks its western light—Berthen looks through a grove—Tonthena, that star which looked, by night, on the course of the sea-tossed Earthon¹⁶⁵."

When a fleet of the ancient Britons sailed in company under the command of one leader, the commander's ship was known by his shield hung high on the mast, and the several signals were given by striking the different bosses of that shield, which were commonly seven, each yielding a different and well-known sound. "Three hundred youths looked from their waves on Fingal's bossy shield. High on the mast it hung, and marked the dark blue sea.—But when the night came down, I struck at times the warning boss—Seven bosses rose on the shield; the seven voices of the king, which his warriors received from the wind, and marked over all their tribes¹⁶⁶."

Sea signals.

By these and the like arts (however imperfect they appear to us) the ancient Britons were ca-

Sailed to a considerable distance.

¹⁶⁵ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 128, 129. ¹⁶⁶ Id. ibid. p. 66. 128, 129.

pable of conducting fleets to a considerable distance from their own coasts. We cannot with certainty mark the utmost limits of their navigation; but it is highly probable, from what is said by Strabo, that the Britons of the south never sailed further southward than to the mouth of the river Garonne in Gaul¹⁶⁷; and it is no less probable, from the works of Ossian, that those of the north never sailed further northward than the north of Norway; or south, than the south of Denmark; which are in these poems called by the name of Lochlin¹⁶⁸. But between these two pretty distant points, there were perhaps few sea-ports of eminence, to which the ancient British mariners were not capable of sailing.

British
shipping
increased
after the
Roman
conquest.

As the trade of Britain gradually and greatly increased after it was subdued by the Romans, we may be almost certain that its shipping increased also by the same degrees, and in the same proportion. For as soon as the Romans were convinced, by their wars with the Carthaginians, of the great importance and absolute necessity of a naval force, they applied with much ardour to maritime affairs, and in a little time became as formidable by sea as they had been by land; and excelled all other nations in the arts of building and navigating ships¹⁶⁹. Though they were so jealous of these arts, that

¹⁶⁷ Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

¹⁶⁸ The Works of Ossian, *passim*.

¹⁶⁹ Polyb. l. 1. c. 2.

they

they punished, first with perpetual imprisonment and afterwards capitally, such as were found guilty of teaching the barbarians (as they called their enemies) the art of building ships; yet they were very ready to instruct and encourage all their subjects in the practice of that art¹⁷⁰. The emperor Claudius in particular, by whom the south parts of Britain were reduced into a Roman province, bestowed several privileges by law, on those who built ships for trade¹⁷¹. These privileges were confirmed and augmented by many succeeding emperors, which occasioned a great increase of shipping in all the maritime and trading provinces of the empire, and amongst others in Britain¹⁷². These privileges, however, were confined to those who built ships capable of carrying ten thousand Roman modia, or about three hundred and twelve English quarters of corn¹⁷³. This may enable us to form some idea of the ordinary size and capacity of the merchant ships of those times.

It is impossible to find out, at this distance of time, from the slender hints remaining in history, either the number or tonnage of the merchant ships belonging to Britain in the Roman times; though we have sufficient reason to conclude, in general, that they were considerable. When the city of London, in the reign of Nero,

¹⁷⁰ Cod. Theod. tom. 3. l. 9. tit. 40. l. 24. p. 322.

¹⁷¹ Sueton. in Claud. c. 18, 19. ¹⁷² Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 5.

¹⁷³ Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 5. l. 28. p. 81, 82.

A. D. 61, had become, so soon after, the Roman conquest, a great city abounding in merchants and merchandize, it certainly abounded also in shipping¹⁷⁴: and when, A. D. 359, no fewer than eight hundred ships were employed in the exportation of corn, the whole number employed in the British trade must have been very great¹⁷⁵.

*Ships of
war.*

Besides the merchant ships which were necessary for carrying on the trade of Britain in these times, the Romans employed a considerable fleet of ships of war, in making and securing the conquest of this island, and protecting its trade. For that wise people were very sensible, that without a fleet sufficient to procure and preserve the dominion of the British seas, it would be impracticable either to conquer Britain, or to keep it under their authority. To obtain the dominion of these seas, seems to have been one of the chief objects which they had in view in all their attempts on this island; and the acquisition of that dominion gave them the greatest pleasure, and was chiefly celebrated by their poets, orators, and historians¹⁷⁶. When the em-

¹⁷⁴ Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.

¹⁷⁵ Zosim. Hist. l. 3.

¹⁷⁶ ——— paruit liber diu

Oceanus, & recipit invitus ratis.

Enqui Britannis primus imposuit jugum,

Ignota tantis classibus texit freta.

Seneca de Claudio in Octavia, Act. 1.

Iussit et ipsum

Nova Romanæ

Jura securis

Fumere Oceanum.

Idem de eodem in Apocolocyntosi.

peror Claudius triumphed with great pomp for the conquest of Britain, one of the chief ornaments of his triumph was a naval crown placed on the top of the Palatine palace, in honour of his having (as his historian expresses it) subdued the Ocean¹⁷⁷. “It was a more glorious exploit
 “ (said the orator to the same emperor) to conquer the sea by your passage into Britain, than
 “ to subdue the Britons. For what resistance
 “ could they make, when they beheld the most
 “ unruly elements, and the ocean itself, submit
 “ to the Roman yoke¹⁷⁸?” The great Agricola enlarged the Roman conquests in Britain, and made the most hardy and intrepid nations of Caledonia despair of being able to preserve their liberty, more by the terror of his fleet than by the valour of his army. “The first step (says
 “ Tacitus) that Agricola took in his sixth campaign, was to explore the coasts of those
 “ powerful nations which dwell beyond the
 “ Forth, by his fleet, which constantly attended
 “ him, and made a most glorious and formidable
 “ appearance.—The Britons, as we learnt from
 “ our prisoners, were struck with consternation
 “ and despair, when they saw that the fleet had
 “ penetrated into the most secret recesses of their
 “ seas, and rode triumphant on their coasts¹⁷⁹.”

When the Romans had, by their fleets and armies, reduced provincial Britain to an entire

Romans
kept a fleet
for the

¹⁷⁷ Sueton. in Claud. c. 17.
 Hierosolym. l. 2. c. 9.

¹⁷⁸ Hegippus de Excidio

¹⁷⁹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 25.

protection
of their
trade.

and quiet submission to their authority, they still kept a fleet of ships of war stationed in its harbours and on its coasts, for securing their conquest, preserving the dominion of the sea, and protecting the trade of their subjects. This fleet was commanded in chief by an officer of high rank, who was styled Archigubernus classis Britannicæ, or high admiral of the British fleet¹⁸⁰. Seius Saturninus filled this important office in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

The British fleet
very formidable
under Carausius and
Allectus.

When the Frank and Saxon pirates began to infest the British seas (which was towards the end of the third century), it became necessary to reinforce the British fleet, in order to enable it to protect the merchants from the insults of these daring rovers. This was accordingly done, and the command of it given to Carausius, an officer of undaunted courage, and of great experience and skill in maritime affairs; who finding himself at the head of such a powerful fleet, began to entertain higher views, and to form the design of assuming the imperial purple. This design he soon after put in execution, and chiefly by the strength of his fleet, he constrained the other two emperors, Dioclesian and Maximianus, to make peace with him, and admit him to a share of the imperial dignity, in which he supported himself for about seven years, when he was treacherously slain by one of his own officers¹⁸¹. During all this period Carausius reigned the unrivalled so-

¹⁸⁰ Selden *Mare Clausum*, l. 2. c. 5.

¹⁸¹ See Chap. I.
vereign

vereign of the seas, and (as Ossian poetically styles him) the king of ships; setting the whole naval power of the Roman world at defiance¹⁸². We may form some idea of the greatness of the British fleet under Carausius, and his successor Alectus, by observing the greatness of the preparations that were made against them for several years. The emperor Constantius did not think it safe to put to sea, or to attempt the recovery of Britain, until he had collected a fleet of no fewer than a thousand sail; and after all, his success in that enterprise is ascribed more to his good fortune in passing the British fleet in a thick fog, without being observed, than to his superior force¹⁸³. The prodigious praises that were bestowed on Constantius, for this exploit of recovering Britain, afford another proof of its great importance, on account of its naval force. “O
 “happy victory! (cries his panegyrist) comprehending many victories and innumerable triumphs. By it Britain is restored; the Franks exterminated; and many nations which had conspired together are constrained to make submission. Rejoice, O invincible Cæsar! for thou hast conquered another world; and by restoring the glory of the naval power of Rome, hast added to her empire a greater element than the whole earth¹⁸⁴.”

Soon after the re-union of Britain to the Roman empire, her seas and coasts began to be

Count of
the Saxon
shore.

¹⁸² Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 96. Pomponius Lætus, c. 2.

¹⁸³ Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 21, &c.

¹⁸⁴ Eumen. Panegyri. si mihi Cæsar.

again infested by the Saxon pirates; who not only seized ships at sea, but frequently landed and plundered the country. This obliged the Romans not only to keep a strong fleet in the British seas and ports, for cruising against these rovers, but also to build and garrison several forts on the coasts, to prevent their descents. This fleet and those ports were put under the immediate command of an officer of high rank, who had the title of the Count of the Saxon shore in Britain¹⁸⁵. By these prudent arrangements, the British trade and marine were protected, and flourished as long as the Roman power continued in its vigour.

Trade and shipping of Britain destroyed by the departure of the Romans.

The Britons suffered as much in their maritime affairs, as they did in any other respect, by the departure of the Romans. The Roman fleets and garrisons being withdrawn, the British ships became an easy prey to the Frank and Saxon pirates at sea, and were not secure even in their harbours. This obliged all the most wealthy merchants to retire, with their ships and effects, into the interior provinces of the empire; and left this island, divested of its most natural and only secure defence, a powerful maritime force, capable of maintaining the dominion of the surrounding seas, supported by a flourishing and extensive commerce.

¹⁸⁵ See Chap. III. sect. 3.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. VII.

The history of the manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, language, dress, diet, and diversions of the people of Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.

THE history of manners will probably be esteemed, by many readers, the most agreeable and entertaining part of history. Those who are much amused with observing the various humours, passions, and ways of mankind in real life, or with the just and lively representations of them upon the stage, will peruse with pleasure a delineation of the manners, customs, and character of nations in their several ages, if it

History of
manners
entertain-
ing.

is faithfully drawn by the pen of the historian. For by such a delineation, a people are brought again upon the field, as they were in the successive periods of their history; and are made to pass in review before the reader, who hath thereby an opportunity of hearing their language, seeing their dress, diet, and diversions; and of contemplating their virtues, vices, singular humours, and most remarkable customs; which cannot fail to afford him an agreeable entertainment.

Useful.

This part of history is also the most useful and interesting; especially to those who are concerned in the administration of public affairs, and the government of states and kingdoms. It is of much greater importance to princes and politicians to be intimately acquainted with the real characters, the virtues, vices, humours, and foibles of the nations which they govern, and of those with whom they have political connections, than to be perfect masters of the most minute detail of all the battles they had ever fought. This is so certain and evident, that it needs neither proof nor illustration.

The most difficult.

But this most agreeable and important part of history is by many degrees the most difficult, and on that account hath been the most neglected and the worst executed. It is extremely difficult for the most intelligent and sagacious travellers, after they have spent several years in a country, visited all its provinces and cities, learnt its language, and conversed familiarly with its inhabitants

tants of all ranks, to form just and clear conceptions of its national character and manners; especially if it is a country where the people enjoy much freedom of thinking, speaking and acting, according to their various humours and dispositions. How difficult must it then be for an historian to give a precise, extensive, and well-supported description of the character and manners of a nation, in a very ancient period, of which there are few remaining monuments; and at the distance of seventeen and eighteen centuries from the age in which he lives? This observation is made with a view to bespeak the indulgence of the public to the mistakes and imperfections that may be discovered in the following delineation of the national character and manners of the ancient Britons when they were first invaded by the Romans.

The climate of a country hath so great an influence on the constitutions, tempers, and manners of its inhabitants, that it is proper to pay some attention to the accounts which are given us by the most ancient writers of the climate of this island in their times¹. This is the more necessary, because it appears from these accounts, that the comparative degrees of heat and cold in this island, and on the opposite continent of Gaul, were very different in those times from what they are at present; so that a considerable change must have happened in the climate of one of these countries, perhaps of both.

Climate
of Britain.

¹ L'Esprit des Loix, l. 14, 15, 16, 17.

Several

Coldness
of Gaul,
and warm-
ness of
Britain.

Several ancient authors of the best authority speak in very strong terms of the coldness of the climate in Gaul, and of the extreme rigour of its winters. "Colder than a Gallic winter," was a kind of proverb among the Romans²; and if the following description of one of these winters by Diodorus Siculus, be a just one, it was a very expressive proverb. "Gaul is grievously infested
"with frost and snow. For in winter, when
"the air is cloudy, snow falls instead of rain; and
"when it is clear, the waters of the greatest
"rivers are so strongly frozen, that the ice forms
"a natural bridge; over which not only a few
"travellers, but whole armies, with all their
"loaded waggons, pass without danger.—But
"as the ice on these rivers is extremely smooth
"and slippery, they cover it with straw that
"they may go over it with the greater safety.—
"Such, in a word, is the excessive severity of
"the winter, and the piercing coldness of the
"air in Gaul, that it produceth neither vines
"nor olives³."

If there was any truth in this description, which is in part confirmed by the testimony of other writers, the climate of Gaul must have been much colder in these times than it is at present⁴. On the contrary, the climate of Britain seems to have been remarkably mild and temperate in that remote period. Julius Cæsar, who made two expeditions into Britain, and spent the greatest

² Petron. Satyr. p. 10.

³ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 25, 26.

⁴ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. c. 12. p. 120.

part of several years in Gaul, says in express terms, "That the climate of Britain is milder than that of Gaul, and the cold not so intense". This is confirmed by the testimony of Tacitus, who (if he did not reside some time in Britain himself) received his information from his father-in-law Agricola, who lived six whole years in this island, visited almost every corner of it, and was therefore very capable of forming a right judgment of its climate⁶. It belongs rather to the naturalist than the historian, to account for this change in the comparative state of the atmosphere of these two countries. We may however observe, that the mildness of the air of Britain was no small happiness to its inhabitants in those times, when they were so imperfectly clothed; and contributed not a little to its being so well peopled. The air of this island was not so remarkable in this period for its serenity, as far as for its mildness. On the contrary, the rains were very frequent, and the air was much loaded with vapours, and obscured with mists and fogs⁷. This observation of Tacitus is confirmed by almost every page of the poems of Ossian: in which there are innumerable allusions to the fogs, mists, and clouds of Caledonia⁸.

Upon the whole, the climate of Britain, in the period we are now considering, appears to

⁵ Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

⁶ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ Poems of Ossian, passim. Dr. Blair's Dissertation, p. 55, 56—59.

have

have been moderately warm in summer, and not excessively cold in winter; but rather more rainy, damp, and cloudy than it is at present, when its woods are cut down, and its lakes and marshes drained⁹. Such a temperature of the air was not unfavourable to the growth and strength of the bodies of men and other animals.

Face of the
country
covered
with
woods.

The face of this country made a very different appearance when it was first invaded by the Romans from what it doth at present. For though the position of its vales and mountains hath always been the same, yet so many of these were then covered with woods, that the whole island was said to have been *Horrida Sylvis*¹⁰. Some of these woods were of immense extent, and in a manner covered whole countries¹¹. The famous forest of *Anderida* was no less than one hundred and twenty miles in length, and thirty miles in breadth: and the *Saltus Caledonius* was probably still more extensive. The very towns of the ancient Britons, and their places of worship, were a kind of forests; so much did the country abound with them, and so greatly did the people delight in them¹². One of the chief difficulties the Romans met with in pushing their conquests in this island, was that of making their way through these woods, and guarding against the sallies of the Britons from their forests¹³. This

⁹ Herodian. l. 3. c. 47. ¹⁰ Leland's Itinerary, v. 6. p. 104.

¹¹ Camd. Brit. v. 1. p. 195. Mr. Pegge's Dissertation on the Coritani, p. 123, 124, &c.

¹² See Chap. II, Chap. V. ¹³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 15. 19.

obliged

obliged them to make cuts through the woods as they advanced, so broad, that they might be in no danger of a surprize; and they afterwards cleared away much greater quantities of them for the sake of agriculture.

Many parts of Britain, when it was first invaded by the Romans, were full of bogs and marshes, or covered with standing waters. This had probably been occasioned in some places by inundations of the sea, and in others by accidental obstructions, and overflowings of rivers; by which the waters being spread over the face of the country, and allowed to stagnate, formed either pools or marshes. However this might be, these extensive fens and marshes presented another great obstruction to the progress of the Romans, and gave the Britons a considerable advantage against them; by their being better acquainted with them, and more accustomed to pass them. This the Romans felt very sensibly in one of the first battles with the Britons, in the reign of Claudius. This action happened not far from the mouth of the Thames, at a place where the overflowing of that river had made a large marsh: "This the Britons passed, being acquainted with these places that were firm at bottom, and fordable; but the Romans ran a great risk in following them; and many pursuing too rashly, fell among unpassable bogs, and lost their lives"¹⁴.

Bogs and
marshes.

¹⁴ Dio. Cass. l. 60.

After

Drained
by the Ro-
mans.

After this the Romans, as they advanced, drained many of these fens, and made the most solid roads through them, with bridges, where they were necessary. The emperor Severus, in his famous expedition into Caledonia, met with little opposition from the enemy, but with almost insurmountable obstacles from the woods and fens, with which the country was covered. “Severus entered Caledonia, where he had endless fatigues to sustain; forests to cut down, morasses to drain, and bridges to build. The waters too extremely incommoded his troops, infomuch that some of the foldiers, being able to march no farther, begged of their companions to kill them, that they might not fall alive into their enemies’ hands. In a word Severus lost no fewer than fifty thousand men in this expedition; though he fought no battle, and saw no enemies in a body¹⁵.” It is observed that Northumberland, the Merse, Teviotdale, and the Lothians, the countries through which Severus marched his army, are, to this day, remarkably clear of wood, and very little incommoded with marshes. Such a mighty change did the Romans make in the natural, as well as political state of the countries which they conquered. For, by their salutary works of cutting down forests, and draining lakes, fens, and marshes, they not only made a most agreeable alteration on the face of the country, and

¹⁵ Xiphilin, ex Dione in Sever.

gained great quantities of ground for pasturage and agriculture, but they even rendered the very air and climate more serene and dry; and made this island, in all respects, a more pleasant and healthful residence than it had been in its natural and uncultivated state.

Though we have sufficient reason to believe that all mankind are of one species, and descended from one original pair, yet it cannot be denied that there is now, and hath long been a most prodigious difference between the inhabitants of different countries in the colour, stature, shape, and strength of their bodies, as well as in the faculties of their minds¹⁶. It is not the province of the historian to account for this difference; but as the personal accomplishments of a people form an essential part of their national character, they merit our particular attention in a history of their manners.

Persons of
the ancient
Britons.

It hath been observed by several authors, that the ancient inhabitants of Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, bore a very great resemblance to each other, both in their persons and manners; and this observation is confirmed by many testimonies of Greek and Roman writers¹⁷. This was more particularly true of the Gauls and South Britons, who appear to have been the very same kind of people in all respects; so that whatever is said of the persons, manners, and customs of the one,

Persons of
the Ger-
mans,
Gauls, and
Britons,
very much
alike.

¹⁶ Histoire Naturelle, par M. De Buffon, 8vo. Paris 1769 tom. 5.

¹⁷ Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 14. p. 92. Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes, l. 2. c. 1. p. 196.

may be applied to the other, with little variation and few exceptions¹⁸. “Those Britons who live “nearest Gaul, are very like the Gauls; which “is probably owing to their being descended “from the same original stock, and their dwelling “almost in the same climate¹⁹.” A modern writer hath been at great pains to prove, that the Caledonians, or Britons of the North, bore a greater resemblance to the Germans than to the Gauls²⁰. This had also been observed by Tacitus, with respect to their persons; and probably proceeded from the greater similarity of their climate and way of life²¹. The truth seems to be, that all the Celtic nations who inhabited the western provinces of Europe, were originally the same people; and in process of time differed a little from each other, according to their different degrees of civilization and intercourse with strangers, and the different climates of the countries which they possessed.

Persons of
the Britons
large, tall,
and fair.

The ancient Britons were remarkable for the largeness of their bodies and tallness of their stature. “The Britons (says Strabo) exceed the “Gauls in stature; of which I had ocular demonstration. For I saw some young Britons “at Rome, who were half a foot taller than the “tallest men²².” The Caledonians, or North Britons, seem to have been most remarkable for their large limbs and high stature; and in that

¹⁸ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

¹⁹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

²⁰ M'Pherson's Dissertation, 12. p. 154.

²¹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

²² Strabo, l. 5. p. 200.

respect bore the greatest resemblance to the Germans, who are allowed, by all the Greek and Roman authors, to have exceeded all the rest of mankind in the size and stature of their bodies²³. The ancient Britons are not so much celebrated for the elegance of their shape and figure, as for their bulk. Strabo describes the British youths which he saw at Rome, as of a loose contexture of body; not standing very streight or firm on their legs, nor having any thing very fine in their features, or the turn of their limbs²⁴. This appearance might, perhaps, be partly owing to their youth. The ancient Gauls were very famous for the softness, plumpness, and whiteness of their bodies, and for the fairness of their complexions: in all which they were at least equalled by such of the ancient Britons as were clothed and did not paint²⁵. The British ladies, in particular, greatly excelled in fairness, and in the whiteness and softness of their persons. The bosom of one of these British beauties is compared by Ossian, to the down of the swan, "when slow she sails the lake, and sidelong winds are blowing"²⁶. The Britons had also fair or yellow hair, though in many various gradations; and in general not so white as that of the Gauls²⁷. The hair of the Caledonians is said to have been for the most part of a reddish cast; and that of the Silures, or people of South

²³ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11. Pelloutier, l. 1. p. 197.

²⁴ Strabo, l. 5. p. 200.

²⁵ Pelloutier, l. 1. p. 198.

²⁶ Poems of Ossian, v. 1. p. 58.

²⁷ Strabo, l. 5. p. 200.

Wales, most commonly curled²⁸. All the Celtic nations had blue eyes; which seems to have been esteemed a great beauty by the ancient Britons in both sexes²⁹. Their enemies observed that they had an uncommon fierceness in their looks, especially when they advanced to battle, that was apt to strike terror into those who beheld them³⁰. Their voices too, when they exerted them with a design to excite terror, were exceedingly loud, horrid, and frightful³¹. “Now
“Fingal arose in his might, and thrice he reared
“his voice. Cromla answered around, and the
“sons of the desert stood still³².”

Strong and
swift, and
patient of
toil and
hunger.

The Britons and other Celtic nations were no less remarkable for the great strength, than for the great bulk of their bodies³³. The following description of Fingal and Swaran wrestling, must give us a high idea of the prodigious strength of these two chieftains. “Their sinewy
“arms bend round each other; they turn from
“side to side, and strain and stretch their large
“spreading limbs below. But when the pride
“of their strength arose, they shook the hill
“with their heels; rocks tumble from their
“places on high; the green headed bushes are
“overturned³⁴.”

²⁸ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

²⁹ Pelloutier, l. 1. p. 203. Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 37. v. 2. p. 36.

³⁰ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1. c. 39.

³¹ Cluver. German.

Antiq. p. 96.

³² Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 56.

³³ Vegetius de Re Militari, l. 1. c. 1.

³⁴ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 62, 63.

For though this description is highly poetical, it was certainly intended to express the extraordinary strength, as well as art, of these royal wrestlers. The ancient Britons were likewise very swift of foot, and excelled in running, swimming, wrestling, climbing, and all kinds of bodily exercises, in which either strength or swiftness were required³⁵. They were also very patient of pain, toil and hardships of various kinds. "The Maeatae and Caledonians are accustomed to bear hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships. They run into the morasses up to the neck, and live there several days without eating³⁶." But what many of the Roman historians have observed concerning the Gauls and Germans, was probably true likewise of the Britons; that they were not capable of bearing much heat or thirst; and that they exerted their strength with so much violence on their first assault upon an enemy that it was soon exhausted³⁷. In a word, the ancient Britons appear to have been, in general, a tall, strong, nimble, and comely people; and having good constitutions, and living in a simple and frugal manner, we need not be surpris'd that many of them lived to a very great age. "Some of the people of Britain," says Plutarch, "live one hundred and twenty years³⁸."

³⁵ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 40. 42. Herodian, l. 3. c. 47.

³⁶ Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

³⁷ Liv. Hist. l. 35. c. 5. Tacit. de morib. Ger. c. 4. Florus, l. 2. c. 4.

³⁸ Plutarch. apud Camd. Brit. v. 1. p. xlv.

Poetical
picture of
an ancient
Briton.

As the following poetical picture of an ancient Briton, in the prime of his strength and beauty, was drawn from the life by the hand of a master, and corresponds with the representation given above, it may not be improper to set it before the reader: “ Was he white as the snow of Arden? Blooming as the bow of the shower? “ Was his hair like the mist of the hill, soft and “ curling in the day of the sun? Was he like “ the thunder of heaven in battle? Fleet as the “ roe of the desert ³⁹.”

Genius of
the ancient
Britons.

Nature seems to have been no less liberal to the Celtic nations, and in particular to the Gauls and Britons, in the natural powers and faculties of their minds, than in the formation of their bodies. The Gauls are represented, by all the ancient authors who speak of them, as an acute and ingenious people, very capable of acquiring any art or science to which they applied ⁴⁰. But the Britons, if we may believe one who was well acquainted with both nations, and very well qualified to form a judgment of them, were still more acute than the Gauls, and had a happier genius for the acquisition of the sciences. Julius Agricola loaded the noble youths of Britain, who applied to the study of the Roman language and learning, with praises; and declared that they excelled the youths of Gaul in Genius ⁴¹. Though we should suppose, that the memories

³⁹ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 90.

⁴⁰ Diod. Sicul. l. 5.

§ 31. p. 354. Strabo, l. 4. p. 195.

⁴¹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

of the ancient Britons were not naturally better than those of other men, yet they must have become very strong and tenacious, by continual exercise; as they were their only books of records, and the repositories of all their knowledge of every kind⁴². The imaginations of a people who delighted so much in poetry as the ancient Britons, and who courted the Muses with so much ardour, and (if we may judge from their few remains) with so much success, must have been very warm and lively⁴³.

It is very difficult to discover the natural passions and dispositions of the hearts of a highly refined and polished people; but these appear conspicuous, and without disguise, in those who are but emerging from the savage state, and in the first stages of civilization. It was this that enabled the Greek and Roman writers to describe so distinctly as they have done, the reigning passions of the ancient Gauls and Britons.

Reigning
passions of
the ancient
Britons.

All the Celtic nations are represented as intolerably proud and vain⁴⁴. These passions are said to have appeared in many different ways. They were apt to break out into vain and boastful language; magnifying their own prodigious valour and wonderful exploits, in the most hyperbolical strains; and at the same time depreciating and reviling others, especially their enemies,

Pride.

⁴² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

⁴³ Ossian's Poems.

⁴⁴ Arrian. exped. Alex. p. 11.

with as little reserve or decency⁴⁵. But this might, perhaps, be as much owing to the natural frankness of their tempers, and the manners of the times, as to any extraordinary degree of vanity. This passion too, it is said, made them often engage in very rash and desperate enterprises, through a presumptuous confidence in their own strength and courage; and rendered them also insolent and overbearing in prosperity. In a word, their vanity appeared in a way we could hardly have expected; in their fondness for finery, and pride of dress and ornament⁴⁶.

Anger.

As the ancient Gauls and Britons were of a sanguine complexion and temperament of body, so they were naturally of a choleric and fiery spirit, subject to sudden and violent transports of rage and passion⁴⁷. This made them very impatient of contradiction, and extremely apt to engage in broils and quarrels; especially when the natural warmth of their temper was inflamed with intoxicating liquors⁴⁸. They then set no bounds to their rage and fury, but proceeded to the most bloody extremities on the most trifling provocations. This passion had even a great influence in their public councils and national conduct, by precipitating them into unnecessary wars, and making them prosecute these wars as

⁴⁵ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 29. p. 352.

⁴⁶ Strabo, l. 4. p. 196. Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 14. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 27. p. 351. Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

⁴⁷ Seneca de Ira, l. 1. c. 2. ⁴⁸ Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 12.

they were prompted by blind impetuous rage, and not under the direction of prudence. "In this manner," says Seneca, "these barbarians engage in war. As soon as their fiery passionate spirits apprehend they have received the smallest injury, they fly to arms, and rush upon their enemies, without order, fear, or caution ⁴⁹."

All the Celtic nations were naturally of a bold, intrepid, and fearless spirit, despising and even courting dangers. If we may believe some ancient authors, they carried this contempt of danger to an extravagant height. "I am informed (says Ælian) that the Celtæ are of all mankind the most forward in exposing themselves to dangers. They reckon it so ignominious and shameful a thing to fly, that they will not retire from an inundation of the sea, or from a falling or a burning house. Nay, some of them are so fool-hardy as to take arms, and rush into the sea in a storm, brandishing their swords and spears, as if they designed to wound and terrify the very waves ⁵⁰."

Courage
and con-
tempt of
danger.

Strabo thinks this account fabulous and incredible; but it is hard to say what a ferocious people, who esteem the encountering of danger their greatest glory, will or will not do ⁵¹.

The following description of daring and intrepidity in an ancient British chieftain, is pa-

⁴⁹ Seneca de Ira, l. 3. c. 3. Polyb. l. 2. p. 122.

⁵⁰ Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 23.

⁵¹ Strabo, l. 7. p. 293.

rallel to the most incredible and romantic part of the above account. “ My soul brightens in
 “ danger—I am of the race of steel; my fa-
 “ thers never feared—Cormar was the first of
 “ my race. He sported through the storms of
 “ the waves. His black skiff bounded on ocean
 “ and travelled on the wings of the blast. A
 “ spirit once embroiled the night. Seas swell,
 “ and rocks resound. Winds drive along the
 “ clouds. The lightning flies on wings of fire.
 “ He feared, and came to land: then blushed
 “ that he feared at all. He rushed again among
 “ the waves, to find the son of the wind. Three
 “ youths guide the bounding bark; he stood
 “ with the sword unsheathed. When the low-
 “ hung vapour passed, he took it by the curling
 “ head, and searched its dark womb with his
 “ steel. The son of the wind forsook the air,
 “ The moon and stars returned⁵².” Such was
 the boldness and intrepidity of the ancient Gauls
 and Britons, that they despised even death itself
 in its most frightful forms⁵³.

Ferocity.

The ancient inhabitants of Gaul and Britain were accused by the Greek and Roman writers of being ferocious, cruel, and sanguinary in their dispositions; and there seems to have been some appearance of truth in this accusation⁵⁴. When they were greatly heated with resentment and flushed with victory, it cannot be denied

⁵² Ossian's Poems, v. 1, p. 39.

⁵³ Lucan, *Pharsal.* l. 1.

⁵⁴ Pelloutier *Hist. Celt.* tom. 1. l. 2. c. 18. p. 556.

that

that they were apt to pursue their vengeance too far, and to be guilty of unnecessary and shocking cruelties. The behaviour of the Britons under Boadicia, at the beginning of their insurrection, as it is described by Tacitus and Dio, affords an example of this, too offensive to humanity to be here related⁵⁵. But the cruel and provoking treatment which they had received from their insolent conquerors, may be justly pleaded as some extenuation of the excesses of which they were guilty on that occasion; and the commonness of such excesses among all bold and warlike nations before they are thoroughly civilized, is a proof that there was nothing peculiarly atrocious and bloody in the dispositions of our British ancestors. On the contrary, the poems of our most ancient British bard abound with sentiments of the greatest gentleness and humanity expressed by his heroes towards their vanquished enemies. “The lighting of my sword is against the strong in battle; but peaceful it lies by my side when warriors yield in war—I am no fire to low-laid foes; I rejoice not over the fall of the brave⁵⁶.”

The ancient Gauls are represented by Cæsar as a people of the most impatient and insatiable curiosity, and at the same time extremely credulous: and it is not improbable that the an-

Curiosity
and credu-
lity, rash-
ness and
incon-
stancy.

⁵⁵ Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33. Dio in Neron.

⁵⁶ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 75. v. 2. p. 148.

cient Britons who were in all respects so like them, had the same dispositions. “It is a custom in Gaul to stop travellers, and oblige them to tell all they know or have heard; and the common people gather in crowds about merchants in the streets, and force them to declare whence they came, and to communicate all their news, and so much are they affected with these news, (which are often not better than mere fictions,) that in consequence of them they engage in the most precipitate undertakings, of which they have soon reason to repent⁵⁷.” It is plainly enough insinuated by Tacitus, that the Britons were infected with the same political curiosity and credulity, and thereby easily precipitated into rash enterprizes and wars. Fickleness is also said to have been one of the natural and national foibles of the ancient Gauls and Britons⁵⁸. This indeed is a necessary consequence and constant concomitant of credulity and rashness. For those who believe hastily and engage rashly, are apt to abandon their opinions and enterprises with equal levity.

Their good
dispositions
and vir-
tues.

It is no small disadvantage, that we are under a necessity of taking our accounts of the natural temper and dispositions of our British ancestors, for the most part, from those who neither esteemed nor loved them; and who evidently

⁵⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 5. ⁵⁸ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.
Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 2. c. 1. l. 4. c. 5.

discover a greater propensity to censure, than to commend. These unfavourable judges, however, at the same time that they represent them as naturally proud, passionate, cruel, curious, credulous, rash, and fickle, cannot help acknowledging that they were a brave and ingenious people, strangers to duplicity and malignity of spirit; of a grateful, tractable, and docile disposition, when they were well treated; and in a word, that many of them wanted neither greatness nor goodness of heart⁵⁹.

Such were the natural dispositions and prevailing passions of the ancient Britons. It is now time to take a short view of their moral qualities, their most conspicuous virtues, and most notorious vices.

The ancient Britons were no less remarkable than the other Celtic nations for their love of liberty and abhorrence of slavery, and for the bravery which they exerted in preserving the one, and defending themselves from the other. They submitted with pleasure to the government of their own princes, which was mild and legal; but they were struck with horror at the thought of being reduced to servitude. It was to this well-known passion of theirs for liberty, that their leaders constantly addressed themselves in all their harangues, to excite them to fight bravely against the Romans; and it was this powerful passion that actually animated them to

⁵⁹ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 1. l. 11. c. 13. p. 493, 494.

make so long and obstinate a resistance to that all-subduing people, as well as many bold attempts to shake off their yoke⁶⁰. So great an abhorrence had the Caledonians, of subjection to the Romans, that many of them put their own wives and children to death with their own hands, when they despaired of being able to preserve them from slavery by any other means⁶¹. The character which Tacitus gives of the ancient Britons, even after they had submitted to the Roman government, but before they were enervated by Roman luxury, is probably very just, and is certainly very honourable. “The Britons are a people who pay their taxes, and obey the laws with pleasure; provided no arbitrary illegal demands are made upon them; but these they cannot bear without the greatest impatience. For they are only reduced to the state of subjects, not of slaves⁶².”

Valour in war.

Valour in war was the most admired and popular virtue of the ancient Britons. Their natural courage, arising from the soundness and vigour of their constitutions, was raised to an enthusiastic height by many powerful incentives⁶³. They were accustomed, almost from their infancy, to handle arms; and to sing the glorious actions of their ancestors. This inspired their young hearts with impatient desires

⁶⁰ Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34. l. 14. c. 35. Vita Agric. c. 30, 31, 32. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

⁶¹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 38.

⁶² Id. ibid. c. 13.

⁶³ Id. ibid. c. 11. Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

to be engaged in war. "The sword of Artho
 "was in the hand of the king; and he looked
 "with joy on its polished studs: thrice he at-
 "tempted to draw it, and thrice he failed—
 "Althan! he said with a smile, hast thou be-
 "held my father? Heavy is the sword of the
 "king; surely his arm was strong. O that I
 "were like him in battle, when the rage of his
 "wrath arose!—Years may come on, O Al-
 "than, and my arm be strong⁶⁴." A great
 part of their youth was spent in martial exercises,
 in which they were carefully instructed by the
 ablest masters⁶⁵. As they advanced in years,
 they were made fully sensible that every thing in
 life depended on their valour: that the smiles of
 the fair, the favour of the great, the praises of
 the bards, and the applauses of the people, and
 even happiness after death, were only to be ob-
 tained by brave and daring exploits in war.
 "Mine arm rescued the feeble, the haughty
 "found my rage was fire—For this my fathers
 "shall meet me at the gates of their airy-halls,
 "tall, with robes of light, with mildly-kindled
 "eyes⁶⁶." When they arrived at manhood,
 arms were put into their hands, in the public
 assembly of their countrymen, with much so-
 lemnity and pomp; and from thenceforward
 war became the chief delight and business of
 their lives, from whence they derived their

⁶⁴ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 18.

⁶⁵ Id. *ibid.* v. 1. p. 30.

⁶⁶ Id. *ibid.* v. 2. p. 149, 150.

glory and their support. Those must have been poltroons indeed, who were not rendered brave by such an education, and by so many powerful motives to valour⁶⁷.

Hospita-
lity.

Hospitality and kindness to strangers was another of the most shining virtues of the ancient Britons, and of all the other Celtic nations⁶⁸. As soon as they beheld the face of a stranger, all their haughtiness and ferocity were laid aside; they felt the sincerest joy at his arrival, accosted him with the most friendly greetings, and gave him the warmest invitations to enter their doors, which flew open for his reception⁶⁹. It was even long esteemed infamous by the ancient Britons, for a chieftain to shut the door of his house at all; “left (as the bards “expressed it) the strangers should come and “behold his contracted soul⁷⁰.” As soon as the stranger accepted the friendly invitation, and entered the hospitable door, water was presented to him to wash his feet; and if he received and used it, and at the same time delivered his arms to the master of the house, it was understood as an intimation that he designed to favour him with his company for some time, at least one night⁷¹. This diffused joy over the whole mansion, the music of the harp arose, and an entertainment was immediately prepared and served

⁶⁷ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 1. l. 2. c. 11. 15.

⁶⁸ Id. ibid.

⁶⁹ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. p. 215.

⁷⁰ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 9.

⁷¹ Giraldus Cambrensis Descript. Camb. c. 10.

up, as sumptuous and abundant as the entertainer could afford⁷². After the entertainment was finished, the host might, without any breach of the laws of hospitality, enter into a familiar conversation with his guest, ask his name, from whence he came, whither he was going, and such questions⁷³. As long as the stranger staid, his person was esteemed sacred and inviolable, the season was devoted to festivity, and every amusement in the power of his host was procured for him, to make him pass his time agreeably, and prolong his stay⁷⁴. Before his departure, it was usual for the stranger to exchange a sword, spear, shield, or some piece of armour with his hospitable entertainer; and these they both preserved with religious care, as marks of mutual friendship, and the rights of hospitality established between them and their families and posterity⁷⁵. This virtue of hospitality continued to be practised long after this period, by the genuine posterity of the ancient Britons in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland⁷⁶; nor is it quite banished from some of the most unfrequented parts of these countries, where it is most necessary, even to this day⁷⁷.

It is a little uncertain whether or not we ought to reckon chastity among the national virtues of

Chastity.

⁷² Giraldus Cambrensis Descript. Camb. c. 10.

⁷³ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 28.

⁷⁴ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.

⁷⁵ Ossian's Poems, v. I. p. 134.

⁷⁶ Girald. Cambren. Descrip. Camb. c. 10.

⁷⁷ Dr. McPherson's Dissertations, p. 137.

the ancient Britons. If we could depend upon the truth of some anecdotes related of them by ancient authors, we should be led to think that they were not very delicate or scrupulous in that point. In particular, if we may believe Dio, the people of Caledonia, in the beginning of the third century, when they were invaded by the emperor Severus, had all their wives in common, and brought up all their children in common, as not knowing to what father any of them belonged⁷⁸. To confirm this account, he relates a pretended conversation between the empress, Julia, and the wife of Argetocoxus, a British prince; in which the empress having upbraided the British ladies for this promiscuous intercourse, the other made a smart reply, not denying, but retorting the charge on the Roman ladies⁷⁹. Cæsar gives much the same account of the Britons of the South in his time, in this respect. “Ten or twelve persons, who
 “are commonly near relations, as fathers, sons,
 “and brothers, all have their wives in common.
 “But the children are presumed to belong to
 “that man to whom the mother was married⁸⁰.”
 There are several considerations, however, which may justly make us mistrust the truth of these accounts. It is very probable that Cæsar, Dio, and others were deceived by appearances, and were led to entertain this opinion of the promif-

⁷⁸ Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

⁷⁹ Id. *ibid*.

⁸⁰ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

cuous intercourse of the sexes among the ancient Britons, by observing the promiscuous manner in which they lived, and particularly in which they slept. The houses of the Britons were not like ours at present, or like those of the Romans in those times, divided into several distinct apartments; but consisted of one large circular room or hall, with a fire in the middle; around which the whole family, and visitants, men, women, and children, slept on the floor, in one continued bed of straw or rushes⁸¹.

This excited unfavourable suspicions in the minds of strangers, accustomed to a more decent manner of living; but these suspicions were probably without foundation. For the ancient Germans, who were in many respects extremely like the ancient Britons, and lived in the same promiscuous and crowded manner, were remarkable for their chastity and conjugal fidelity⁸². Nay, though the posterity of the Britons continued to live in the same manner, both in Wales and the Highland of Scotland, many ages after this period, it is well known to have had no ill effect on their morals⁸³. If we consult the poems of our most ancient British bard, who was cotemporary with the historian Dio, and much better acquainted with the manners of his country than any foreigner could be; they

⁸¹ Girald. Cambren. Descript. Camb. c. 10.

⁸² Tacit. de morib. German. c. 18, 19.

⁸³ Id. ibid. Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertation, p. 140.

abound with the most beautiful descriptions of the modesty, innocence, and virtue of the British ladies, and the honour and conjugal affection of both sexes⁸⁴. It will perhaps be difficult to produce a more affecting example of the tenderness and warmth of wedded-love on both sides, when all circumstances are duly considered, than is contained in the following short tale.

“ They told to Son-mor of Clunar, that his
 “ brother was slain by Cormac, in fight. Three
 “ days darkened Son-mor over his brother’s
 “ fall. His spouse beheld the silent king, and
 “ foresaw his steps to war. She prepared the
 “ bow in secret, to attend her blue-shielded
 “ hero. To her dwelt darkness at Atha, when
 “ he was not there—From their hundred streams
 “ by night, poured down the sons of Alnecma.
 “ They had heard the shield of the king, and
 “ their rage arose. In clanging arms they
 “ moved along towards Ullin of the groves.
 “ Son-mor struck his shield, at times, the leader
 “ of the war.

“ Far behind followed Sul-allin (beautiful
 “ eye) over the streamy hills. She was a light
 “ on the mountain, when they crossed the vale
 “ below. Her steps were stately on the vale,
 “ when they rose on the mossy hill.—She feared
 “ to approach the king, who left her in echoing
 “ Atha. But when the roar of battle rose;
 “ when host was rolled on host; when Son-

⁸⁴ Poems of Ossian, passim.

“ mor burnt like the fire of heaven in clouds;
 “ with her spreading hair came Sul-allin; for
 “ she trembled for her king—He stopt the rush-
 “ ing strife to save the love of heroes—The foe
 “ fled by night—Son-mor slept without his
 “ blood; the blood which ought to be poured
 “ on the warrior’s tomb.” It is impossible
 that a people who were capable of such tender
 feelings could be in general ignorant, or re-
 gardless of the laws of chastity and virtuous
 love; though some individuals amongst them
 might be brutal in their dispositions and man-
 ners.

The truth is, the laws of matrimony appear
 to have been held as sacred, and the violations
 of them as odious among the ancient Britons as
 among the Germans. The universal indigna-
 tion of the Brigantes against their queen Car-
 tismandua, on account of her gallantries, is a
 sufficient proof of this. “ Cartismandua, queen
 “ of the Brigantes, was a princess famous by
 “ the lustre of her race, the greatness of her
 “ power, and the favour and protection of the
 “ Romans. But her manners being corrupted
 “ by prosperity, she became wanton and luxu-
 “ rious; and despising her husband Venutius,
 “ bestowed her person and crown on Vellocat-
 “ tius, her armour-bearer. This flagitious deed
 “ proved the total ruin of her family; her en-

Conjugal
 fidelity.

85 Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 127, 128.

“raged subjects embracing the party of her injured husband.”⁸⁶”

Frugality.

A frugal parsimonious simplicity in their way of life have been commonly reckoned among the virtues of uncivilized nations (who had made but little progress in the arts), and particularly of the ancient Britons⁸⁷. But this simplicity, in these circumstances, is not properly a virtue, as it is the effect of necessity, rather than of choice; and owing rather to their ignorance, than to their contempt of luxury. It will by-and-by appear, that though the ancient Britons could, and very often did, live upon little, they had no aversion to indulge their appetites when they had an opportunity. Accordingly the Romans did not find it a difficult task to draw them off from their boasted simplicity of living, and to give them a taste for luxury and magnificence. “From using (says Tacitus) “our language and dress, they proceeded, by “degrees, to imitate our vices and luxuries, “our porticos, baths, and sumptuous entertain- “ments”⁸⁸.”

Sincerity.

Sincerity and plain-dealing are virtues to which the ancient Britons had probably a juster claim. Fawning, flattery, and deceit, are not the vices of a brave unpolished people, who are commonly frank and open-hearted, and speak their real sentiments without disguise. This is

⁸⁶ Tacit. Hist. l. 3. c. 45.

⁸⁷ Diod. Sicul. l. 9. c. 21. p. 347.

⁸⁸ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

the character which is given by Diodorus Siculus of the ancient Britons: "Their manners are plain and simple, and they are absolute strangers to the pernicious, cunning and dissimulation of men of our times"⁸⁹."

The ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, were famous for the warmth of their natural affections, their duty to their parents and superiors, and their inviolable attachment to their friends and family. All the young men of a clan or family treated the old men with the respect and duty due to parents; and those of the same age behaved toward one another as brethren⁹⁰. Nothing could equal the respect, affection, and inviolable attachment which every family bore to its head or chieftain. For his safety and honour every one of his friends and followers was always ready to expose his own life to the most imminent danger⁹¹. In a word, all the members of a clan or family were animated, as it were, with one spirit; and whoever did an injury, or offered an affront to one of them, drew upon himself the resentment of the whole⁹². This family affection or clanishness reigned long among the posterity of the ancient Britons in the Highlands of Scotland, and is hardly yet extinguished⁹³.

Social affections.

⁸⁹ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 21. p. 347.

⁹⁰ Nicol, Damascen, apud Stobæum, Serm. 37. p. 118.

⁹¹ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 14.

⁹² Id. ibid. c. 21.

⁹³ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 107, 108.

Vices of
the ancient
Britons.

Though it is most agreeable to contemplate the fair and beautiful side, either of national or particular characters, yet our regard to truth obliges us to reverse the medal, and take a short view of the most remarkable national blemishes and vices of our British ancestors.

Fondness
for war.

The extravagant fondness of the ancient Britons, and of all the other Celtic nations, for war, and the savage delight which they took in shedding the blood of those whom they thought proper to esteem their enemies for little or no reason, though it appeared to themselves a virtue, was certainly a most odious and pernicious vice. War was the chief business, delight and glory of the British chieftains and their martial followers, as well as of the petty princes of Gaul and Germany, and their attendants⁹⁴. These battling chiefs, and their ferocious mimidons, thought all their time lost that they spent in peace, were unhappy when they were not engaged in some martial expedition, and transported with joy when they heard of an approaching foe⁹⁵. Far from being anxious about the justice of the quarrel, they desired only to fight and conquer, imagining that valour and victory rendered every thing right and honourable; agreeable to their famous maxims—
“ That they carried all their rights on the points
“ of their swords; and that all things belonged
“ to the brave, who had courage and strength

⁹⁴ Pelloutier *Hist. des Celt.* l. 2. c. 11. p. 406. ⁹⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 411.

“to seize them”⁹⁶. This fatal fondness for war, and this total perversion of all the most natural ideas of right and wrong, were the sources of innumerable crimes and calamities among the ancient Britons, and the other ancient nations of Europe.

Robbery was another criminal practice to which the ancient Britons were too much addicted. Dio represents this as one of the chief employments of the Maeatae and Caledonians, on which they very much depended for their subsistence⁹⁷. Like the ancient Germans, they did not esteem it either criminal or disgraceful, but rather a brave and honourable action to rob and plunder the territories of the neighbouring states; especially if any national feud or rivalry subsisted between them and these states⁹⁸. In a time of peace, it was usual for the British chieftains to engage in some plundering expedition, to prevent the people from forgetting the use of arms: and it was chiefly with the booty which they collected in these expeditions, that they supported and rewarded their followers⁹⁹. These ideas and manners, so destructive to the security of property, and to the peace and good order of society, subsisted too long among the posterity of the ancient Britons¹⁰⁰.

Robbery.

Sloth, or want of industry, was one of the most prevailing vices of the ancient Britons, and of all

Sloth.

⁹⁶ Tit. Liv. l. 5. c. 35. ⁹⁷ Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

⁹⁸ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.

⁹⁹ Id. ibid. Tacit. de morib. German. c. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertation, p. 138.

the other Celtic nations. This did not proceed from natural inactivity of spirit, or unwieldiness of body (for they were remarkable for the vivacity of the one, and the agility of the other), but from their mistaken notions of what was great and honourable. Educated in the midst of arms, and accustomed from their infancy to hear nothing admired or celebrated but valiant deeds in war, they looked upon every profession but that of arms as dishonourable; and on every employment but war, as unworthy of a man of spirit¹⁰¹. To such an extravagant height did the ancient Caledonians and other Britons carry these absurd and pernicious notions of honour, that they imagined that those who followed any other employment but that of arms, not only lived despised, and died unlamented, but that their souls after death hovered in the lower regions, among fens and marshes, and never mounted the winds, nor mingled with the souls of warriors in their airy halls. “To fight is
 “mine—I rush forth, on eagle wings, to seize
 “my beam of fame—In the lonely vale of
 “streams, abides the little soul—Years run on,
 “seasons return, but he is still unknown.—In
 “a blast comes cloudy death, and lays his grey
 “head low. His ghost is rolled on the vapour
 “of the fenny field. Its course is never on hills,
 “or mossy dales of wind¹⁰². Accordingly, the British chieftains and their martial followers

¹⁰¹ Pellicautier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 8. 11.

¹⁰² Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 76.

thought it far below them to put their blood-stained hands to any useful labour. When they were not employed in their destructive trade of war; in the chace, the image of war; or in some predatory expedition; they (though not so unactive as the ancient Germans) spent too much of their time in shameful indolence, or more shameful riot ¹⁰³. Nay, not only were the industrious labourers despised, but also plundered, by these sons of violence, who seized the fruits of their labours as their lawful prey. “My pointed spear, my sharp sword, and shining shield, (said an old Celtic warrior) are my wealth and riches. With them I plough, with them I reap, with them I make my wine, with them I procure universal homage and submission. Whoever dare not resist my pointed spear, my sharp sword, and shining shield, falls prostrate on his knees before me, and adores me as his lord and king ¹⁰⁴.” Where such sentiments and manners as these prevailed, it is no wonder that labour languished, and that the most necessary and useful arts were much neglected.

Drunkenness, or an excessive fondness for intoxicating liquors, is represented by many Greek and Roman authors to have been the predominant and reigning vice of all the Celtic nations ¹⁰⁵. As the ancient Britons were of the same origin, and had the same national spirit and manners with the Germans, Gauls and other Celtes, they

Drunkenn-
ness.

¹⁰³ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 15. ¹⁰⁴ Athenæus, l. 15. c. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 2. l. 2. c. 18.

were probably infected also with this vice. The following account which is given of the drunkenness of the Gauls, and their intemperate love of wine, by Diodorus Siculus, may therefore, without injustice, be applied to those Britons who had come from Gaul and settled in this island, and to their posterity for several generations.

“ The excessive coldness and badness of the
 “ climate is the reason that Gaul produceth
 “ neither grapes nor olives. The Gauls being
 “ destitute of these fruits, make a strong liquor
 “ of barley, which they call Zithus. They also
 “ make a kind of drink of honey, diluted with
 “ water. Of wine, which is imported to them
 “ by merchants, they are fond to distraction;
 “ and drink it to excess, until they are either
 “ overpowered with sleep, or inflamed with a
 “ kind of madness—Quarrels often arise amongst
 “ them when they are over their cups, and they
 “ start up and fight in a most furious manner,
 “ without the least regard to their safety, or even
 “ to life ¹⁰⁶.” The Caledonians seem to have
 delighted greatly in strong exhilarating liquors,
 called, in the poetical language of their bards,
 “ the joy and strength of the shell,” because
 they it drank out of shells. “ Now on the side of
 “ Mora, the heroes gathered to the feast. A
 “ thousand aged oaks are burning to the wind.
 “ —The strength of the shells goes round. And
 “ the souls of the warriors brighten with joy ¹⁰⁷.”

¹⁰⁶ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 29, 30. p. 352.

¹⁰⁷ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 74.

In the western islands of Scotland, which are seldom visited by strangers, many of the customs of the ancient Britons were long preserved; and amongst others, the manner and excess of their drinking; which are thus described by one who was well acquainted with them: "The manner of drinking used by the chief men of the isles, is called in their language *Streak*, i. e. a round, for the company sat in a circle; the cup-bearer filled the drink round to them, and all was drunk out, whatever the liquor was, whether strong or weak. They continued drinking sometimes twenty-four, sometimes forty-eight hours. It was reckoned a piece of manhood to drink until they became drunk: and there were two men with a barrow attending punctually on such occasions. They stood at the door until some became drunk, and they carried them upon the barrow to bed, and returned again to their post, as long as any continued fresh; and so carried off the whole company one by one, as they became drunk¹⁰³." The truth is, that mankind in all ages, especially in cold climates, have been at great pains to secure for themselves exhilarating and intoxicating liquors, which cheered their spirits, warmed their hearts, and filled their minds with joy¹⁰⁴. In the first stages of civilization, when arts and commerce were in their infancy, such liquors were obtained

¹⁰³ Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 196.

¹⁰⁴ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 109.

with

with much difficulty; and therefore, when they had procured them, they swallowed them with much eagerness, and little moderation.

Remark-
able cus-
toms of
the ancient
Britons.

Besides the virtues and vices of a people, strictly so called, there are certain customs, habits, and ways of acting in the common affairs of life, which are indifferent as to their morality, but claim our attention as they distinguish one nation from another, and discover their various circumstances and characters. Of this kind are—The different ranks and classes into which a people are divided—The modes in which they accost each other, and express their civilities—The manner in which the sexes treat one another—The ceremonies of their marriages—The way of bringing up their children—The rites of sepulture—The solemnities of their declaring war, and making peace, &c.

Ranks.

As soon as the inhabitants of any country are formed into states and kingdoms, they must be divided into different ranks and classes. In the first and simplest stages of society, the distinctions of rank and degrees of subordination are but few. This was the case both in Gaul and Britain, when these countries were first invaded by the Romans. “In Gaul (says Cæsar) there are
“only two classes of men who enjoy any con-
“siderable degree of honour and distinction;
“which are the nobles, and the Druids¹¹¹. It was exactly the same in Britain. The distinguished honours and immunities of the Druids

¹¹¹ Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

have

have been already described ¹¹². The nobles were the chieftains or heads of the several clans or families of which each little kingdom consisted. These chieftains were all equal in dignity, though different in power, according to the number of their followers. The common people were all nearly upon a level; and, if we may believe Cæsar, so submissive to the will and dependent upon the power and bounty of the nobles, that their condition was not many degrees better than that of slaves ¹¹³. In the lowest rank were such as had been taken in war, or by some other means reduced to actual slavery. These unhappy persons were the property of their respective masters, and were either sold or given in presents, like any other property ¹¹⁴. In the following speech of Bosmina, the daughter of the famous Fingal, an hundred captive maids are given away with as little ceremony as an hundred horses, or an hundred hawks. “Son of the
 “distant Sora, begun the mildly blushing maid,
 “come to the feast of Morven’s king, to Selma’s
 “shaded walls. Take the peace of heroes, O
 “warrior, and let the dark sword rest by thy
 “side—And if thou chusest the wealth of kings,
 “hear the words of the generous Aldo.—He
 “gives to Erragon an hundred steeds, the chil-
 “dren of the reign; an hundred maids from
 “distant lands; an hundred hawks with flutter-
 “ing wing that fly along the sky ¹¹⁵.”

¹¹² See Chap. II.¹¹³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal l. 6. c. 13.¹¹⁴ Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.¹¹⁵ Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 115.

Modes of
address.

As soon as the inhabitants of any country begin to live in society, they adopt certain modes of address, by which they express their attention, respect, and good-will to each other, according to their various ranks. These modes of address and civility have been very different in different countries, and in the same country at different times. The same action or gesture which in one country, at one period, hath pass'd for the highest refinement of politeness, and as expressive of the greatest respect, in another country, or at another time, hath been esteemed the most shocking rudeness, and unpardonable affront¹¹⁶. This is indeed the proper province of fancy and fashion, in which they reign with arbitrary sway and discover their whimsical capricious natures uncontrolled by reason. Though the observation of these modes and fashions of behaviour is of no small importance, as long as their authority subsists, yet they are of so fickle and fleeting a nature, so apt to arise and reign for a time, and then to decay and be forgot for ever, that it is quite impossible to give a regular historical deduction of them in any country; and therefore we must be contented with a very brief account of some few of the most remarkable of them in every period.

It hath been a very ancient custom, which hath prevailed almost in all countries, for men to approach their superiors, especially persons of

¹¹⁶ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 328.

very high rank, and to express their respect for them with gestures and ceremonies very much resembling those with which they approached their altars, and expressed their veneration for the objects of their religious worship. The affections which they intended to express towards these different objects being of the same kind, they were naturally led to express them in the same manner. Of this, examples might be brought from the history of every age and country, if it were necessary; but the following very remarkable one from the history of Britain in this period, will be sufficient. The temples of the ancient Britons were all circular; and the Druids, in performing the public offices of their religion, never neglected to make three turns round the altar, accompanied by all the worshippers¹¹⁷. This practice was so habitual to the ancient Britons, that it continued in some places many ages after the Druids and their religion were both destroyed. “In the Scottish isles, the
 “vulgar never come to the ancient sacrificing
 “and fire-hallowing Karns, but they walk three
 “times round them, from east to west; accord-
 “ing to the course of the sun. . . This sanctified
 “tour, or round by the south, is called Deiscail;
 “from Deas or Dese, the right-hand, and Soil
 “or sul, the sun; the right hand being ever
 “next the heap or cairn¹¹⁸.” In the same isles it is the custom and fashion of the people to testify

¹¹⁷ Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall, l. 2. c. 19.

¹¹⁸ Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 117.

their

their respect for their chieftains, the proprietors of their several isles, and other persons of distinction, by performing the Deifcal round them in the same manner. A gentleman giving an account of his reception in one of the western islands, of which he was proprietor, describes the ceremony of the Deifcal in this manner: “ One of the
 “ natives would need express his high esteem
 “ for my person, by making a turn round about
 “ me ten ways, and at the same time blessing
 “ me, and wishing me all happiness. But I bid
 “ him let alone that piece of homage, telling
 “ him I was sensible of his good meaning towards me. But this poor man was very much
 “ disappointed, as were also his neighbours; for
 “ they doubted not but this ancient ceremony
 “ would have been very acceptable to me; and
 “ one of them told me that this was a thing due
 “ to my character from them, as to their chief and
 “ patron; and that they could not, and would
 “ not fail to perform it¹¹⁹. It is highly probable that the superstitious and ceremonious Deifcal were both of the same origin and antiquity; and that both had been universally practised by the ancient Britons; the one as an act of worship to their Gods, and the other as a piece of politeness to their princes and chieftains.

Behaviour
to the fair
sex.

The fair sex have, in all ages, and almost in all countries, except among mere savages, been treated with some peculiar marks of attention

¹¹⁸ Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 20.

and politeness, expressive of the esteem and tender regards of the other sex. This was remarkably the case among the ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic nations of Europe, even when they were in the lowest stages of civilization, and but little removed from savages in some other respects. These brave, rough, unpolished nations treated their women with much attention and respect, as the objects of their highest esteem and most sincere affection¹²⁰. They allowed them to enjoy the regal dignity, when it fell to them of right; and their greatest heroes did not disdain to fight under their command¹²¹. They paid great regard to their advice in their most important affairs, esteeming them a kind of oracles, endued with more than human sagacity and foresight¹²². The beauties and virtues of the fair were the favourite themes of the ancient British Bards, and their good graces were regarded as the most glorious rewards of their heroes. “ At foamy Cruruth’s source, dwelt
 “ Rurmar, hunter of boars. His daughter was
 “ fair as a sun-beam; white-bosomed Strina-
 “ dona. Many a king of heroes, and hero of
 “ iron shields, many a youth of heavy locks
 “ came to Rurmar’s echoing hall. They came
 “ to woo the maid, the stately huntress of Tor-
 “ moth wild.—But thou lookest careless from
 “ thy steps, high-bosomed Strinadonā. If on
 “ the heath she moved, her breast was whiter

¹²⁰ Introduction à l’Histoire de Dannemarck, p. 196.

¹²¹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 16. ¹²² Tacit. de morib. German. c. 8.

“ than the down of Canna; if on the sea-beat
 “ shore, than the foam of the rolling ocean.
 “ Her eyes were two stars of light; her face was
 “ heaven’s bow, in showers; her dark hair
 “ flowed round it like the streamy clouds; thou
 “ wert the dweller of souls, white-handed Strina-
 “ dona ¹²³.” Their bravest warriors felt the
 most generous compassion for the sufferings of
 the sex, and flew like lightning to their relief.
 “ We came to the silent bay, and heard the
 “ maid of night,—How long will ye roll around
 “ me, blue tumbling waters of ocean? My
 “ dwelling was not always in caves, nor beneath
 “ the whistling tree. The feast was spread in
 “ Forthoma’s hall; my father delighted in my
 “ voice. The youths beheld me in the steps of
 “ my loveliness, and blessed the dark-haired
 “ Ninathoma. It was then thou didst come,
 “ O Uthal! like the sun of Heaven. The souls
 “ of the virgins are thine, son of generous Lath-
 “ mor! But why dost thou leave me alone, in
 “ the midst of roaring waters?—The tear started
 “ from my eye, when I heard the voice of the
 “ maid. I stood before her in my arms, and
 “ spoke the words of peace.—Lovely dweller
 “ of the cave, what sigh is in that breast? Shall
 “ Ossian lift his sword in thy presence, the destruc-
 “ tion of thy foes ¹²⁴?” Any insults offered to the
 persons or to the honour of their women, excited
 the greatest indignation and the keenest resent-

¹²³ Ossian’s Poems, v. 2. p. 198.

¹²⁴ Ibid. v. 1. p. 262, 263.

ment in the minds of the ancient Britons. The brutal behaviour of the Romans to Boadicea and her daughters, seems to have inflamed the rage of her own subjects, and of the other British nations, more than all their other injuries and oppressions¹²⁵. In a word, the people of Britain in this period, though they have been often represented as no better than savages and barbarians, were truly polite in their sentiments and behaviour to the tender sex; and animated with no small portion of that generous and virtuous gallantry, which appeared accompanied with many extravagancies, in the knight-errantry of the middle ages.

As marriage is the nearest and most endearing tie, and the foundation of all other relations, certain ceremonies have been used at the celebration of it in almost every country. These ceremonies, in the first stages of society, were commonly few and simple: when little more was necessary in contracting marriages, than the mutual affection of the parties, and a few presents, expressive of that affection, delivered to each other in the presence of their friends, at the marriage feast. This was the case among the ancient Germans, and probably among the ancient Britons. "To the husband the wife gives
"no dowry, but the husband to the wife. The
"parents and relations of both are present, and
"declare their approbation of the presents,

Ceremo-
nies of
marriage.

¹²⁵ Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 31.

“ These presents are not adapted to flatter the
 “ vanity or adorn the person of the bride ; but
 “ commonly consist of a certain number of oxen,
 “ a bridled horse, a shield, a spear, and a sword.
 “ The bride too, makes the bridegroom a pre-
 “ sent of some arms. By the delivery of these
 “ mutual presents, the marriage is solemnized.
 “ This they esteem the most indissoluble tie,
 “ the most sacred bond of union, and the con-
 “ nubial Gods ¹²⁶.” Tacitus observes, that the
 reason why the bridegroom made a present of
 oxen, horses, and arms, rather than of female
 ornaments to his bride, was to intimate to her
 that she was to partake in his toils and dangers,
 as well as his pleasures ¹²⁷. It was a custom
 among the ancient Britons on these occasions,
 that the father of the bride made a present of his
 own arms to his son-in-law ¹²⁸. As the ancient
 Britons, and all the other Celtic nations, de-
 lighted much in feasting, no marriage was sole-
 mnized among them without a great feast, to which
 all the relations of both parties, who were within
 the third degree of kindred, were invited by the
 bridegroom, at his own house, on the day when
 the bride was conducted thither by her friends.
 When the parties were rich, they made presents
 to their friends at this marriage feast ; but when
 they were poor, each of their friends made them
 some small present, according to their ability and
 generosity. At the conclusion of the feast, the

¹²⁶ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 18.

¹²⁷ Id. ibid.

¹²⁸ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 157.

parties were conducted to the marriage bed by the whole company, with music, dancing, shouting, and every demonstration of joy¹²⁹. On the morning after the marriage, before they arose from bed, the husband made his wife a present of considerable value, according to his circumstances, which became her peculiar property, and was entirely at her own disposal¹³⁰. There is not the least probability, that the shocking custom of the kings enjoying the wives of the nobility, and the nobility those of their vassals, the first night after their marriage, ever prevailed in any part of Britain; though it is mentioned by several very grave historians¹³¹.

The wives of the ancient Britons, especially of their warriors, had not only the management of their domestic affairs devolved upon them, but they had the care and direction of the whole concerns of the family without doors, as well as within, committed to them; the husbands being almost constantly employed either in war or hunting; and even when they were not so employed, they were too lazy, or too proud to labour. For what Tacitus says of the ancient Germans, might with equal truth have been said of their contemporaries in Britain. “Those who are bravest
“and most warlike among them, never do any
“work or mind any business; but when they
“are not engaged in war or hunting, spend

Business of
their wives.

¹²⁹ Vide Joh. O. Stiernhook, l. 2. c. 1.

¹³⁰ Id. ibid. Vid. Leges Wallicæ, p. 80, 88. 315.

¹³¹ Dr. McPherson's Dissertations, p. 192, &c.

“ their whole time in loitering and feasting ;
 “ committing the management of their houses,
 “ lands, and all their affairs, to their women,
 “ old men, and children ¹³².” These haughty warriors not only disliked, but despised labour, and imagined that they would have been dishonoured for ever, if they had stooped to do any useful work.

Birth and
 education
 of their
 children.

As the women among the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, were generally of robust and healthy constitutions, and led simple, innocent, and rural lives, they are said to have brought forth their children with little pain or danger, and often without any assistance, or interruption to their business ¹³³. When a birth was attended with any difficulty, they put certain girdles, made for that purpose about the women in labour, which they imagined gave immediate and effectual relief. These girdles, which were believed to facilitate the birth of heroes, are reckoned in the poems of Ossian, among the treasures of kings ¹³⁴. Such girdles were kept with care, till very lately, in many families in the Highlands of Scotland. They were impressed with several mystical figures : and the ceremony of binding them about the women's waists, was accompanied with words and gestures, which showed the custom to have been of great antiquity, and to have come originally from the

¹³² Tacit. de morib. German. c. 15.

¹³³ Cluver. de German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 21.

¹³⁴ Ossian's Poems, v. i. p. 115.

Druids ¹³⁵. it was the custom of all the Celtic nations, to plunge their new-born infants into some lake or river, even in the winter season, with a view to try the firmness of their constitutions, and to harden their bodies ¹³⁶. The Britons might therefore, on this account, have adopted the boastful speech of Numanus, the Rutilian, who was of the Celtic race.

Durum a stirpe genus : notos ad flumina primum
Deferimus ; sævoque gelu duramus & undis ¹³⁷.

Strong from the cradle, of a sturdy brood,
We bear our new-born infants to the flood ;
Th'ere bath'd amid the stream, our boys we hold,
With winter harden'd, and inur'd to cold ¹³⁸.

The ancient inhabitants of Scandinavia are said to have had a custom long before they had any knowledge of Christianity, of pouring water upon the heads of their children as soon as they were born, and giving them a name ¹³⁹. But we have no certain evidence that this custom prevailed in Britain ; and if we may depend upon the testimony of a modern writer, who seems to be well acquainted with the customs of the ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of this island, the Britons, before the introduction of Christianity, did not give names to their sons till after they had performed some brave action ¹⁴⁰. and given some indication of their disposition and

¹³⁵ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 115. in a note.

¹³⁶ Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 21. p. 150.

¹³⁷ Virg. Æn. ix. v. 604. ¹³⁸ Dryden's Virg. Æn. ix. v. 820.

¹³⁹ Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc, p. 209.

¹⁴⁰ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 33. in a note.

character ¹⁴¹. This much at least is certain, that all the names of the ancient Britons, preserved by the Greek and Roman writers, as well as by their own bards, are significant in the British language ¹⁴². Some of the ancient Britons, if we may believe Solinus had a custom of putting the first meat into the mouth of every male child, on the point of his father's sword ; praying at the same time, that he might prove a brave warrior, and at last fall in battle : which was esteemed by them the only honourable and desirable kind of death ¹⁴³. Every mother among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, as well as of Germany, not excepting those of the highest rank, nursed all her own children, without having the least idea that it was possible for any other women to perform that parental office ¹⁴⁴.

We may be very certain that the ancient Britons did not bring up their children in a tender and delicate manner. A people who were themselves so ill accommodated, and so rough and hardy, could have no opportunity, and even no conception, of giving their youth such an education, which would have rendered them quite unfit for the way of life for which they were designed. The following description of the manner in which the ancient Germans reared their children, may be applied, with truth and justice, to the people of this island, before their manners

¹⁴¹ See Baxter's *Glossarium Britan. and Ossian's Poems*, *passim*.

¹⁴² Solinus, c. 35.

¹⁴³ *Id. ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Tacit. *de morib. German.* c. 20.

were changed by their subjection to and intercourse with the Romans. “ The children of the nobility are brought up with as little delicacy and tenderness as those of the common people. In every house you see the little boys, the sons of lords and peasants, equally sordid and ill clothed, lying and playing promiscuously together upon the ground, and among the cattle; without any visible distinction. In this manner they grow up, without care or cockering to that prodigious strength and stature which we behold with admiration ¹⁴⁵.” The sons of the ancient Germans, Gauls and Britons of all ranks, were allowed to run, wrestle, jump, swim, climb, and, in a word, to do what they pleased, without almost any restraint, till they began to advance towards manhood. To this continual exercise and perfect liberty, together with the simplicity of their diet, Cæsar ascribes the great strength of body, and boldness of spirit, to which the youth of these nations attained ¹⁴⁶.

When the youth of Germany, Gaul, and Britain began to approach the manly age, some more attentions seemed to be paid to them, both by their parents and the public; for before that period it was accounted a shame for a father to be seen in company with his son; and they were not considered as members of the state ¹⁴⁷. Such of them as were designed for the priestly order,

¹⁴⁵ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 20.

¹⁴⁶ Cæsar. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. l. 6. c. 18.

were then put under the direction of the Druids, for their instruction in the sciences, and in the principles of law, morality, and religion; and those who were intended for the warlike life, had arms put into their hands by their fathers, or nearest kinsmen, in a public assembly of the whole warriors of the clan or state¹⁴⁸. Some vestiges of this last custom continued till within the memory of man, especially with respect to the eldest sons of their lairds or chieftains, in some parts of the Highlands, and western isles of Scotland¹⁴⁹. From this period, which was commonly between the fifteenth and eighteenth years of their age, the youth applied with zeal and spirit to qualify themselves for performing with honour the duties of that profession which they had embraced with the consent of their friends and family.

Customs
in war.

As war was the favourite profession of the ancient Britons, they had many remarkable customs in the prosecution of it; of which it will be sufficient to mention only a very few. When an unfortunate chieftain implored the protection and assistance of another, he approached the place of his residence with a shield all bloody in one hand to intimate the death of his friends; and a broken spear in the other, to represent his own incapacity to revenge them¹⁵⁰. A prince having immediate occasion for the assistance of

¹⁴⁸ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 18.

¹⁴⁹ Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 101, &c.

¹⁵⁰ Poems of Ossian. v. 2. p. 160.

his warlike followers, to repel some sudden invasion, or engage in some expedition, besides striking the shield and sounding the horn, to give warning to those who were within hearing; he sent the Cran-tara, or a stick burnt at the end and dipped in the blood of a goat, by a swift messenger, to the nearest hamlet, where he delivered it, without saying one word, but the name of the place of rendezvous. This Cran-tara, which was well understood to denounce destruction by fire and sword, to all who did not obey this summons, was carried with great rapidity from village to village; and the prince, in a little time, found himself surrounded by all his warriors, ready to obey his commands¹⁵¹. When one chieftain entered the territories of another on a friendly visit, he and his followers carried their spears inverted, with their points behind them; but when they came with a hostile intention, they carried them with the points before¹⁵². An invading army never neglected to draw blood from the first animal they met with on the enemy's ground, and sprinkle it upon their colours¹⁵³. When two hostile armies lay near to each other, it was the constant custom of the commanders of both, to retire from their troops, and spend the night before a battle, each by himself alone, meditating on the dispositions he intended to make in the approaching action¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵¹ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 160.

¹⁵² Id. *ibid.* p. 5.

¹⁵³ Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 103.

¹⁵⁴ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 108.

When

When a British prince gained a victory, he seldom neglected to erect some trophy or monument on the field of battle, to perpetuate the memory of his success, and to speak to other years¹⁵⁵. These monuments consisted commonly of one large stone placed erect in the ground, without any inscription; of which there are many still standing in different parts of Britain; though they have proved unequal to their charge, and have not been able to preserve the names or memories of those who erected them. As the British warriors had their arms put into their hands in public, and with various ceremonies, so they resigned them, when they became old and unfit for the toils of war, in the same public manner, and with equal ceremony¹⁵⁶. When two British kings or chiefs made peace after a war, or entered into an alliance, they commonly confirmed the peace or alliance by feasting together, by exchanging arms, and sometimes by drinking a few drops of each other's blood; which was esteemed a most sacred and inviolable bond of friendship.¹⁵⁷

Rites of
sepulture.

That tender and sincere affection which subsists among near relations and dear friends through life hath, in all ages and countries, disposed the survivors to pay certain honours to their deceased friends, and to commit their remains to the earth with some peculiar rites and ceremonies. These

¹⁵⁵ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 220.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. v. 1. p. 162. v. 2. p. 150. ¹⁵⁷ Ibid. v. 1. p. 74. Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 109.

funeral

funeral rites have been very different in different ages and countries, and have sometimes varied considerably in different parts of the same country. This appears to have been the case in this island in the period we are now considering. The British nations in the south had certainly the same funeral rites with their neighbours the Gauls; which are thus very briefly described by Cæsar: “The funerals of the Gauls, considering their circumstances, were sumptuous and magnificent. It was their custom to throw into the funeral pile on which the body was burnt, those things, and even those animals in which the deceased had most delighted; nay, some ages ago they threw into the flaming pile such of his servants and friends as had been his greatest favourites, and all were reduced to ashes together in the same fire¹⁵⁸.” Pomponius Mela gives the same account of the funeral rites of the ancient Gauls, with these additional circumstances: “That when they burnt the bodies of their dead, and buried their ashes, they buried likewise with them their books of accounts, and the notes of hand for the sums of money which they had lent whilst alive, that they might exact the payment of them in the other world. That sometimes also their near relations and friends have flung themselves into the funeral pile, that they might go and live with them in a future state¹⁵⁹.” That

¹⁵⁸ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 19.¹⁵⁹ Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

the ancient nations in the south parts of Britain burnt the bodies of their dead in the same manner, is not only probable, from their great affinity with and great resemblance to the Gauls, but is unquestionably evident from the great number of urns, evidently of British workmanship, which have been found in several places full of ashes, and human bones half burnt¹⁶⁰. For it is well known to have been the custom of those nations who burnt their dead, carefully to gather their ashes, and particularly their bones; and to put them into urns, with various rites and ceremonies. If the arms, or other things belonging to the deceased had been thrown into the funeral pile (which was common), the remains of these were also collected and preserved, in the same manner with the bones and ashes¹⁶¹. These urns, with their various contents, were deposited in sepulchres, caves, or barrows, according to the prevailing custom of the country. The sepulchral urns of the ancient Britons were, for the most part, deposited under barrows, or large circular heaps of earth and stones¹⁶². But as the bones of men lying at full length, and without any marks of burning, have been found in some barrows, it appears, that upon some occasions the ancient Britons of the south buried their dead without burning¹⁶³. This was the constant practice of the Caledonians, or Britons of the north; whose manner of burying their dead is

¹⁶⁰ Dr. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 234, 235.

¹⁶¹ *Id. ibid.*

¹⁶² *Id. ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Id. ibid.* p. 235.

thus

thus described, by one who had the best opportunities of being acquainted with their customs: “ They opened a grave six or eight feet deep; “ the bottom was lined with fine clay, and on “ this they laid the body of the deceased; and “ if a warrior, his sword, and the heads of “ twelve arrows by his side. Above they laid “ another stratum of clay, in which they placed “ the horn of a deer, the symbol of hunting. “ The whole was covered with a fine mould, “ and four stones placed on end, to mark the “ extent of the grave¹⁶⁴.” There are many allusions in the poems of Ossian to this manner of burying the dead; from which we learn these further particulars:—That the bows of warriors, as well as their swords and arrows, were deposited in their graves:—That these graves were marked sometimes only with one, and sometimes with two stones; and that sometimes a cairn or barrow was raised over them: the favourite dogs of the deceased were often buried near them¹⁶⁵. But the most important and essential rite of sepulture among the ancient Britons, was the funeral song containing the praises of the deceased; sung by a number of bards, to the music of their harps, when the body was deposited in the grave¹⁶⁶. To want a funeral song was esteemed the greatest misfortune and disgrace; as they believed that, without it, their spirits could enjoy no rest or happiness in a future state¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁴ Ossian's Poems, v. i. p. 7. in a note.
¹⁵³. 182. 204. ¹⁶⁶ Ibid. v. i. p. 153.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. v. i. p. 55.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. v. 2. p. 35.

Language
of the an-
cient Bri-
tons.

Though the use of speech, or the faculty of communicating their thoughts to each other by articulate sounds, hath always been common to all mankind in all countries; yet the sounds which the people of different countries, and of the same country in different periods, have employed for that purpose, have been extremely different, according to the ancestors from whom they descended; the neighbours with whom they mixed; the arts they practised; the sciences they cultivated; the climates they inhabited; and the degrees of knowledge they attained. This makes the language of every nation in every period an interesting and curious part of its history, from whence many useful deductions may be drawn, concerning its origin and circumstances.

A dialect
of the
Celtic.

The language of the ancient Britons, when they were first invaded by the Romans, was a dialect of the Celtic ¹⁶⁸; which had been the language of all the nations of Europe descended from Gomer, and still continued to be spoken by the people of Gaul, and several other countries ¹⁶⁹. This is undeniably evident from the nature and reason of things; from the testimony of ancient authors; from the names of rivers, lakes, mountains, &c. in Britain being significant and descriptive in the Celtic tongue; and

¹⁶⁸ Pelloutier Hist. des Celtes, l. i. c. 15.

¹⁶⁹ See Mr. Bullet Memoires sur la langue Celtique. Mr. Pelloutier Dictionnaire de la Langue Bretonne, Preface. Mr. Jezron, Antiq. Celtes.

from

from the remains of that most ancient and venerable language in some parts of Britain, as well as in some countries on the continent.

Can any thing be more natural and reasonable than to suppose, that the first colonies which came from Gaul and took possession of Britain, and that those which followed them at different periods, brought with them the language of their native country; and that they and their posterity continued to speak it in their new settlements in this island, of which they were the first inhabitants, and where they had no opportunity of learning any other? The nations of Gaul and Britain, in that period, were indeed as much the same people in all respects, and particularly in their language, as the English and Scots now settled in Ireland; and the British colonies are the same with those who reside in this island. If they had not understood each other perfectly well, the Gauls would not have sent their youth into Britain, as we know they did, to finish their education¹⁷⁰. This is confirmed by the plain and express testimony of Tacitus, an author of the best credit, who was well acquainted with both countries. “ One who duly considers all
“ circumstances, would be convinced that the
“ Gauls were the first who inhabited the adjacent
“ isle of Britain. For the religion, or rather
“ superstition of the Gauls and Britons, is perfectly the same; and there is hardly any

¹⁷⁰ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

“ difference between their languages ¹⁷¹.” The small difference which Tacitus intimates then subsisted between the languages of the Gauls and Britons, could amount to no more than this, that they spoke two different dialects of the same language; and, in this respect, the several nations of the Gauls on the continent differed as much from each other as they did from the Britons. Cæsar says plainly, that the people of the three grand divisions of Gaul spoke different languages, or rather dialects; which is both confirmed and explained by Strabo, who acquaints us, “ That the Gauls did not all speak exactly “ the same language, but varied a little in their “ pronunciation ¹⁷².” But this is at present, and always hath been, the case of the different provinces both of France and Britain.

It is a further proof, or rather demonstration, that the Celtic tongue was the language spoken by the first inhabitants of this island, that the names of very many rivers, brooks, hills, mountains, towns, and cities in all parts of it, are significant in that language, and descriptive of their situations, properties, and appearances. For the first inhabitants of every country are under a necessity of giving names immediately to those objects about which they have daily occasion to converse; and these primitive names are naturally no other than brief descriptions of the most striking appearances and obvious properties of

¹⁷¹ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

¹⁷² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1. c. 1. Strabo, l. 4.

these objects in their native tongue. When another nation conquers this country, settles in it, and mingles with the primitive inhabitants, finding names already affixed to all the most conspicuous places and objects in it, they, [for the most part, retain these names, with some slight alteration to adapt them to the genius of their own language. This was evidently done by the Romans in this island, as might be made appear by an induction of almost innumerable particulars; but as such a detail would be dry and tedious to many readers, it may be sufficient to refer those who are desirous of further information and satisfaction in this particular, to the authors quoted below ¹⁷³.

Dialects of the Celtic language, once the universal language of Britain, and perhaps of all Europe, still continue to be spoken in Wales, the Highlands, and the western islands of Scotland, (to say nothing of Ireland,) as well as in some places on the continent. For though the Romans endeavoured to introduce not only their laws and government, but also their language, into all the countries which they conquered, they miscarried in this last attempt in several provinces of their empire, and particularly in Britain ¹⁷⁴. Some of the noble youth of the provincial Britons

¹⁷³ Baxter's Glossar. Antiq. Britan. passim. Edwardi Luidii de Fluv. Mont. Urb. in Britan. Nomen. Mr. Bullet, Memoires sur la Langue Celtique, l. 1. p. 338—406.

¹⁷⁴ Bullet, Memoires sur la Langue Celtique, l. 1. c. 9. p. 12.

were, indeed, prevailed upon to learn the Latin tongue, and study the Roman eloquence¹⁷⁵. But even these youth did not forget nor discontinue the use of their native language; and the body of the people neither understood nor spoke any other. The longer the Roman government continued, the fashion of learning their language became more and more general: but as the number of the Romans who resided in this island was at all times very inconsiderable in comparison of the other inhabitants, they never could render their language the vernacular tongue of Britain. In a word, nothing can be more certain than this, that the language which was spoken by the great body of the provincial Britons, during the whole period of the Roman government, was the same in substance with that which had been spoken by their ancestors, before they were invaded by the Romans, and which is still spoken by their posterity in Wales; though there can be no doubt but that this very ancient language hath suffered very considerable changes in so long a course of years, and in a country which hath undergone so many revolutions. As the Romans never conquered the Caledonians, or northern Britons, they cannot be supposed to have made any change at all in their language; which is still spoken by their posterity in the Highlands, and western islands of Scotland, with less variation from the original Celtic (if we may believe some

¹⁷⁵ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

of the best judges in these matters) than in any other part of Europe ¹⁷⁶.

However surprising and incredible it may appear to us, there is hardly any one fact in ancient history better attested than this:—That the first inhabitants of every country in Europe, and particularly of this island, were either naked or almost naked ¹⁷⁷. But by degrees, the decent and comfortable custom of wearing clothes of some kind or other prevailed in all these countries; and had become very general, if not universal, in Britain, before it was invaded by the Romans. It is true, that both Dio and Herodian seem to intimate that the Maætæ and Caledonians were naked in the beginning of the third century, when they were invaded by the emperor Severus ¹⁷⁸. But both these authors probably meant no more than that these people were very imperfectly clothed, or almost naked; and the expressions which they use will admit of this interpretation. For Dio only says that they lived naked in their tents, which may imply that they had some clothing when they went abroad; and in the very same chapter where Herodian speaks of their nakedness, he says, “ That they run
“ through the fens and marshes up to the waist
“ in mud; because the greatest part of their
“ bodies being naked, they regarded not the

Dress of
the ancient
Britons.

¹⁷⁶ Dr. McPherson's Dissertation, p. 123, &c.

¹⁷⁷ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 1. l. 2. c. 6. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16.

¹⁷⁸ Xiphilin. ex Diene in Sever. Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

“ dirt ¹⁷⁹.” As the Romans hardly ever saw the Caledonians but in a warlike posture, or engaged in some military expedition, they might imagine them to be much more imperfectly clothed than they really were ; because it was the constant custom of that people, which was long retained by their posterity, to throw off almost all their clothes before they advanced to battle, that they might not be encumbered by them in the action ¹⁸⁰. It is very common, both in writing and conversation, to say a person is naked, who is very meanly, or thinly clothed.

It would be very difficult, or rather impossible to give any tolerable account of the dress of the ancient Britons in this distant period, if it had consisted of as many different parts as ours, or if their fashions had been as variable as they are at present. But this was not the case ; for besides the strong attachment which all nations, in the first stages of civilization, have to the customs of their ancestors, the clothing arts were but in their infancy in this island ; and the Britons had not skill to provide themselves with a variety of different kinds of garments, or to change their fashions. This will appear from the following very brief detail.

The Plaid.

The upper garment of the ancient Britons, and of all the other Celtic nations, was the mantle or plaid. This was a piece of cloth of a square form, and sufficiently large to cover the whole

¹⁷⁹ Herodian, l. 3. c. 47.

¹⁸⁰ Dr. McPherson's Dissertation, p. 164.

trunk of the body, both behind and before¹⁸¹. It was fastened upon the breast, or one of the shoulders, with a clasp; or, for want of that, with a thorn, or sharp-pointed piece of wood¹⁸². As this garment succeeded the mantles made of the skins of some of the larger animals, which had formerly been worn by all the Celtic nations, it was made to imitate these skins in their shape and form; and in several countries, as particularly in Britain, those who were poor, or less civilized, still continued to wear skins, while those who were more wealthy or more improved, were clad in plaids¹⁸³. Not only did the plaids or mantles of cloth which were used by the ancient Britons at first, resemble the mantles of skins, which they had used before, in their shape, but also in their appearance in other respects; being all of one colour; smooth on the inside; with long hair, either straight or curled, on the outside; not unlike the rugs which are still used in some parts of Britain by the common people on their beds¹⁸⁴. These plaids, or rather rugs, when they were first introduced, were esteemed so precious, and so great a piece of luxury, that they were only used by persons of rank and wealth; and that only in the winter season, when they went abroad, being carefully laid aside in summer, or when they were within doors¹⁸⁵. By

¹⁸¹ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. i. p. 301. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. l. i. c. 16.

¹⁸² Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

¹⁸³ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

Cluv. German Antiq. l. i. c. 16.

¹⁸⁴ Strabo, l. 4. p. 176.

¹⁸⁵ Id, ibid.

degrees this garment became more common, and was worn by persons of all ranks, and at all seasons, at home as well as abroad; the mantles of skins being no longer used¹⁸⁶. As these most ancient plaids were made of coarse wool, ill dressed, and spun into yarn of a great thickness, they were only one degree more comfortable than the skins to which they succeeded; and were particularly inconvenient in the summer season, on account of their great weight. This put the British weavers, now become a little more expert in their business, upon making others of finer wool, better dressed, and woven the same on both sides. These did not, indeed, so effectually guard the body from rain and snow as the former coarse and heavy rugs; but they were much softer and lighter, and were at first worn by persons of distinction, in summer and in fair weather; though they afterwards became more common. Both the winter and summer mantles of the ancient Britons, and of the other Celtic nations, were originally each of one uniform colour, most commonly black or blue¹⁸⁷. But when the Gauls and Britons became acquainted with the arts of dying wool, yarn, and cloth many different colours, they began to make their light summer mantles striped chequer-wise, which formed small squares, some of one colour and some of another, very much resembling the tartan plaids which are still used in the Highlands

¹⁸⁶ Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertation, p. 166.

¹⁸⁷ Diod. Sicul. l. 5, c. 33. p. 356.

of Scotland¹⁸⁸. By such slow and gentle steps do mankind commonly advance in their improvements of the most useful and necessary arts.

For a considerable time the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, had no other garments but their plaids or mantles; which being neither very long nor very broad, left their legs, arms, and some other parts of their bodies, naked¹⁸⁹. As this defect in their dress could not but be sensibly felt, it was by degrees supplied. It is indeed uncertain, whether the tunick or doublet, for covering more closely the trunk of the body, or breeches and hose, for covering the thighs and legs, were first invented and used by these nations; though the limbs being quite naked, while the trunk was tolerably covered by the plaid, it is probable that these last were most ancient, as they were most necessary. But however this may be, it is abundantly evident, from the testimonies of many ancient authors, (which have been carefully collected by the two modern writers quoted below¹⁹⁰), that the ancient Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations, wore a garment which covered both their thighs and legs, and very much resembled our breeches and stockings united. This garment was called, in the Celtic tongue, the common language of all these nations, *Braxe*, or *Bracce*; probably be-

Other garments.

¹⁸⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 8. c. 48. Dipd. Sicul. l. 5. c. 30. p. 353.

¹⁸⁹ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

¹⁹⁰ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 6. b. 1, p. 307, &c. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16, p. 115, &c.

cause

cause it was made of the same party-coloured cloth with their plaids, as Breac, in that language, signifies any thing that is party-coloured¹⁹¹. These Braxe, or close trowsers, which were both graceful and convenient, and discovered the fine shape and turn of their limbs to great advantage, were used by the genuine posterity of the Caledonian Britons in the Highlands of Scotland till very lately, and are hardly yet laid aside in some remote corners of that country.

The tun-
nick,

Though the plaid, when it was wrapped about the body, covered the whole trunk of it, yet, as it was fastened only at one place about the neck, upon the least motion of the arms it flew loose, and left the fore-part of the body, as well as the arms, naked. This made it a very imperfect and inconvenient covering in time of action, when a free motion of the arms and a full exertion of strength were required; and therefore on such occasions it was commonly thrown off. It was impossible, therefore, but the ancient Britons and other Celtic nations must have very soon discovered that they wanted some more convenient covering for the body, which might serve them for that purpose when they were in action, without impeding the motion of their limbs and the exertion of their strength; and we have sufficient evidence that a garment of this kind was used by them in this period¹⁹².

¹⁹¹ M'Pherson's Dissertation, p. 166.

¹⁹² Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. i. p. 302. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. p. 114.

This

This garment was a vest, or tunick, adjusted exactly to the shape and size of the body ; fastened before with clasps, or some such contrivance, and reaching no lower than the groin. These vests had also sleeves, which covered the arms, at first only as far as the elbows, but afterwards down to the wrists ¹⁹³. For some time after this garment was invented, it was used only by persons of rank and wealth ; but by degrees it came into common use ¹⁹⁴.

As long as the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, only covered their bodies with their plaids or mantles, leaving their arms, thighs, and legs naked, it is not to be imagined that they had any covering either for the head or the feet : but after they had provided garments for all the other parts of the body, they would naturally begin to think of some kind of covering for its extremities. Some of these nations, and perhaps the Britons, had no other shoes but a piece of the skin of a horse, cow, or other animal, tied about the feet, with the hair outwards ¹⁹⁵. In the time of war, the British kings and chieftains wore helmets on their heads, adorned with plumes of eagles' feathers ¹⁹⁶. It seems probable, from the figure of a British captive on a Roman monument in the college of Glasgow, that the common people wore a kind of cap on

Covering
for their
heads and
feet.

¹⁹³ Cluv. German. Antiq. p. 14. Strabo, l. 4. p. 196. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 30. p. 353.

¹⁹⁴ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

¹⁹⁵ Cluv. Germ. Antiq. p. 117. ¹⁹⁶ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 39. 57.

their

their heads, very like the bonnet which is still used in the Highlands of Scotland ¹⁹⁷.

Dress of
the Druids.

The dress of the Druids of Gaul and Britain was, in some respects, different from that of the other inhabitants of these countries. In particular, their mantles were not of various colours, like the plaids of others, but entirely white, and probably of linen cloth ¹⁹⁸. This was, no doubt, intended as an honourable mark of distinction, and perhaps as an emblem of sanctity, to which they were great pretenders.

Dress of
the wo-
men.

It hath been the custom of all countries, in all ages, to make some distinction in the dress of the different sexes. While the ancient Britons, of both sexes, had no other garments but mantles made of skins, or even of cloth, this distinction could not be very great: but when they had invented several pieces of dress, it became more conspicuous. What Tacitus says of the difference between the dress of the men and women among the ancient Germans, may probably be applied to the Britons of this period. "The difference of the dress of the sexes is not very great, and consists chiefly in this; that the women make more use of linen in their dress than the men; and that the sleeves of their tunicks do not reach to their wrists, but leave their arms bare; as is also some part of their bosoms ¹⁹⁹." This tunick, which was worn by

¹⁹⁷ Horsley's Britan. Rom. p. 195. ¹⁹⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16.
¹⁹⁹ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

the British women, was plaited in the under part, and descended much lower than that of the men, probably below the knee. Their mantles or plaids were also large, and worn loose and flowing, almost reaching the ground. This account is confirmed by the following description, given by Dio, of the dress of the famous British heroine Boadicia: "She wore a tunick of various colours, long and plaited, over which she had a large and thick mantle. This was her common dress which she wore at all times; but on this occasion she also held a spear in her hand²⁰⁰."

There is one observation which may be made concerning the clothing of both the men and women among the ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic nations—That the same garments, whatever they were, which served them for their clothing in the day, served them also for their covering in their beds by night²⁰¹. It seems, however, to have been a custom among the Britons and others, to lay the skins of animals under them upon their beds, long after they had left off wearing them as mantles. The bard Carril awaked Swaran, king of Lochlin, and invited him to the feast in the following words; which show that the king was sleeping on the skins of wild beasts which he had slain in the chase: "Old Carril went with softest voice, and called the king of dark-brown shields,

Their bed-
clothes.

²⁰⁰ Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Neron.

²⁰¹ Cluv. Germ. Antiq. p. 119.

" Rife

“ Rise from the skins of thy chace, rise Swaran,
 “ king of groves—Cuchullin gives the joy of
 “ shells ²⁰².” This custom of sleeping on skins
 continued till very lately, among the common
 people in some parts of Germany ²⁰³.

Fond of
 finery.

Though it must be confessed that the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, were very meanly and imperfectly clothed, yet this was not owing to their love of plainness and simplicity, or contempt of ornament, but to the imperfect state of the arts amongst them. For some of these nations are represented by the Greek and Roman authors, as remarkably fond of dress and finery. While the Germans, and probably other nations, were clad in mantles made of skins, they adorned these mantles with patches of different kinds of skins, and of various colours ²⁰⁴. The Gauls, who had made greater progress in the arts than the Germans, were much delighted with gold chains, bracelets, and other ornaments of that precious metal. “ By this means
 “ (says Diodorus Siculus) the Gauls obtained great
 “ quantities of gold, of which they make various
 “ ornaments for the dress, both of men and
 “ women; as bracelets, chains, and rings, for
 “ adorning their arms, necks, hands, and breast-
 “ plates ²⁰⁵.” The Gauls abounded so much in these ornaments, a considerable time before this period, that Polybius acquaints us, “ That there

²⁰² Ossian's Poems, v. i. p. 16. ²⁰³ Cluv. Germ. Antiq. p. 120.

²⁰⁴ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

²⁰⁵ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 27. p. 351.

“ were

“ were very few soldiers to be seen in the fore-
 “ most ranks of their armies, who had not their
 “ necks and arms adorned with gold chains and
 “ bracelets²⁰⁶.” The Britons were no less fond
 of these ornaments than the Gauls, and had also
 considerable quantities of them. In the descrip-
 tion given by Dio, of the dress of Boadicia, we
 are told, that she had a very massy chain of gold
 about her neck; and we learn from Tacitus, that
 a great number of such chains which Caractacus
 had taken from his neighbouring princes and
 chieftains in war, were carried before him when
 he was led in triumph into Rome²⁰⁷. Nay, so
 fond were the Britons of ornaments of this kind,
 that those who could not procure them of gold,
 wore rings and chains of iron, of which they were
 not a little vain²⁰⁸.

The ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic
 nations, were extremely proud of the length and
 beauty of their hair; and were at much pains in
 dressing and adorning their heads. Some of them
 carried their fondness for, and admiration of
 their hair to an extravagant height²⁰⁹. It is said
 to have been the last and most earnest request of
 a young warrior, who was taken prisoner and
 condemned to be beheaded, that no slave might
 be permitted to touch his hair, which was remark-
 ably long and beautiful, and that it might not

Manner of
 dressing
 their hair.

²⁰⁶ Polyb. l. 3.

²⁰⁷ Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron. Tacit.

Annal. l. 12. c. 36.

²⁰⁸ Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

²⁰⁹ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 7. p. 323. Cluv. Germ. Antiq.
 l. 1. c. 16. p. 105.

be stained with his blood²¹⁰. We hardly ever meet with a description of a fine woman or beautiful man in the poems of Ossian, but their hair is mentioned as one of their greatest beauties²¹¹. Not contented with the natural colour of their hair, which was commonly fair or yellow, they made use of certain washes to render it still brighter. One of these washes was a composition of lime, the ashes of certain vegetables, and tallow²¹². They made use of various arts also to make the hair of their heads grow thick and long; which last was not only esteemed a great beauty, but was considered as a mark of dignity and noble birth. Boadicia, queen of the Iceni, is described by Dio with very long hair, flowing over her shoulders, and reaching down below the middle of her back²¹³. The Britons shaved all their beards except their upper lips; the hair of which they, as well as the Gauls, allowed to grow to a very inconvenient length²¹⁴. Upon the whole, the ancient Britons of both sexes, when they were completely dressed, according to the fashion of their age and country, were tolerably secured against the injuries of the climate: and made not only a decent, but an agreeable appearance.

Change in
drefs by
the Roman
conquest.

The Roman conquest made a considerable change in the dress and clothing of the people of

²¹⁰ M. Mallet's *Introduët. à l'Histoire de Dannemarc*, p. 134.

²¹¹ *Ossian's Poems*, v. 1. p. 90. v. 2. p. 70.

²¹² *Cluv. Germ. Antiq.* p. 105.

²¹³ *Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.*

²¹⁴ *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 5. c. 14. *Diod. Sicul.* l. 5. c. 28. p. 351.

this

this land, as well as in their other circumstances. For we learn from the best authority, that not a few of them, and particularly of their young nobility, adopted the dress as well as the language and manners of their conquerors, in order to recommend themselves to their favour. “After this” (says Tacitus), the sons of the British chieftains “began to affect our dress, and the use of the Roman gown became frequent amongst them²¹⁵.” But as this never became the common and prevailing dress even of the provincial Britons, the description of it doth not properly belong to the British history or antiquities.

The diet of a nation, or the substance of their meats and drinks, together with their manner of preparing and using them, are objects of still greater importance, and more worthy of attention than their dress, as affording still clearer indications of their real state and circumstances. For as nothing is so necessary to the preservation of life as meat and drink, and no appetites are so frequent and importunate in their sollicitations as hunger and thirst, we may be certain that the providing for the gratification of these appetites, by increasing the quantity, and improving the taste and quality of their necessary food, would engross much of the attention of the first inhabitants of every country; and that they would employ the greatest part of their skill and industry to these purposes.

Diet of
the ancient
Britons.

²¹⁵ Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

Whether
the Britons
were cani-
bals or not.

It hath been already observed, that the most ancient inhabitants of this island, as well as of many other countries, probably lived, for some time, on the spontaneous productions of the earth, in their natural state, with little or no preparation²¹⁶. But if we may give credit to the testimony of several authors, some of the ancient British nations lived in a still more barbarous and savage manner, and did not abstain from devouring human flesh. “ I can affirm nothing
“ with certainty (says Strabo) concerning those
“ British tribes which inhabit Ireland, only it is
“ reported that they are much greater savages
“ than the other Britons—that they are prodigious
“ gluttons, devouring great quantities of human
“ flesh, and even esteeming it honourable to eat
“ the bodies of their deceased parents. But
“ though we have mentioned these reports, it
“ must be confessed that we have not sufficient
“ evidence of their truth²¹⁷.”—“ Those Gauls
“ (says Diodorus Siculus) who dwell in the north,
“ and are near neighbours to the Scythians, are
“ such savages that they devour human flesh;
“ as do also those British nations which inhabit
“ Ireland²¹⁸.” But the most positive, and at the same time the most incredible testimony to this purpose, is the following one of St. Jerome:—
“ To say nothing of other nations, when I was
“ a young man, I saw in Gaul the Attacotti, a
“ British nation who fed on human flesh. When

²¹⁶ See Chap. V.

²¹⁷ Strabo, l. 4. p. 201.

²¹⁸ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 32. p. 355.

“ they

“ they find in the woods herds of hogs and
 “ cattle, and flocks of sheep, they use to cut
 “ off the buttocks of the herdsmen, and the
 “ breasts of the women, esteeming these parts of
 “ the body the greatest dainties ²¹⁹.”

That there was a time when some men were so savage as to make human flesh their food, is a fact so well attested, that it can admit of no dispute. Nay, there are still some nations, both in Africa and America, to whom this kind of food is familiar, and who hunt men, as we do wild beasts, in order to feed upon them ²²⁰. Nor is it impossible that some of the first savage inhabitants of this island, in cases of great extremity, had recourse to this horrid expedient, to sustain their lives. But it is far from being probable, that in the first century of the Christian æra, when Strabo wrote, any of the British tribes who inhabited Ireland were in this deplorable state of barbarism. At any rate, it is quite incredible that a British people should be permitted to commit such barbarities in Gaul, one of the most civilized and best regulated countries in the world, about the middle of the fourth century, when St. Jerome was a boy. That there was a British nation, in this period, called the Attacotti; and that there were several cohorts of that nation in the Roman armies, both in Gaul and Italy, are facts very well attested ²²¹. That these made an uncommon

²¹⁹ Hieronym. adver. Joven. l. 2. ²²⁰ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 3, 4. and authors there quoted.

²²¹ Ammian. Marcel. l. 26. c. 5. Camd. Brit.

appearance, and were more fierce than the Roman troops in Gaul; and that on these accounts such reports were spread concerning them, perhaps with a design to frighten children, is not improbable: St. Jerome being a little boy (adolescens) when he was in Gaul, and hearing these terrible stories of the Attacotti, they seem to have been too hastily believed by him, and to have made too deep an impression on his imagination. Whoever gives a better solution of this difficulty, will do as great a service to the memory of St. Jerome, as to the character of our countrymen the Attacotti.

Britons of the south had variety and plenty of provisions.

At the time of the first Roman invasion, the British nations in the south parts of this island did not want both a sufficient quantity and variety of provisions, but lived on the same things, prepared in the same manner with their neighbours on the continent. They understood and practised husbandry, which furnished them with corn for bread and other purposes; and gardening, which provided them with roots, herbs, and fruits of all kinds, except grapes and olives²²². They had great herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep, whose flesh and milk yielded them a variety of substantial dishes. The Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations, prepared the flesh of animals for eating in three different ways; by boiling, broiling, and roasting. “Posidonius, the Stoic philosopher (says Athenæus) in-

²²² See Chap. V. artic. Husbandry and Gardening.

“ those

“ those historical pieces which he composed,
 “ and which are not inconsistent with the philo-
 “ sophy which he professed, relating the laws
 “ and customs of many different nations, says,
 “ concerning the Celtæ, that they used little
 “ bread at their entertainments, but a great deal
 “ of flesh; which they either boiled in water,
 “ broiled on the coals, or roasted on spits²²³. ”
 This is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, in the
 following passage: “ Near to the place where
 “ an entertainment is to be, they kindle very
 “ great fires, on which they place pots, and near
 “ them spits, with which they boil and roast
 “ large joints of flesh of different kinds²²⁴. ”

The Gauls and Britons were not ignorant of
 the art of salting flesh, in order to preserve it
 from putrefaction, and fit for use²²⁵. But their
 salt had a very different appearance, and was made
 in a very different manner from ours. The
 process by which it was made, is thus described
 by several ancient authors. They raised a pile of
 trees, chiefly oaks and hazels, set it on fire, and
 reduced it to charcoal; upon which, while it
 was still red-hot, they poured a certain quantity
 of salt water, which converted the whole mass
 into a kind of salt, of a black colour²²⁶. The
 Britons had also venison, game, and poultry of
 all kinds, and in great abundance; though they

Salt of the
 Gauls and
 Britons.

²²³ Athenæi Deipnosoph. l. 4. c. 13. p. 151.

²²⁴ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 28. p. 351.

²²⁵ Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

²²⁶ Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 57. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 13. c. 7. Varro
 de Re Rustic. l. 1. c. 8.

Milk.

were restrained, by some superstitious fancy, from using either hares, hens, or geese as food ²²⁷.

The Britons not only used the milk of their herds and flocks in its natural state, but also when it was coagulated, and made into butter. “Of milk (says Pliny) butter is made, which is “the most delicious and favourite food of the “barbarous nations, especially of those amongst “them who are most wealthy ²²⁸.” By barbarous nations, this author most commonly means the Germans and Britons, because they were not thoroughly subjected to the Roman government, nor instructed in the Roman arts. When Strabo says, “That some of the ancient Britons were so “ignorant, that though they had abundance of “milk, they did not understand the art of making cheese ²²⁹,” he seems to insinuate, that they were not all equally unacquainted with this art. After the richer and more oily parts of the milk were made into cheese or butter, they did not throw away what was left, but used it in several different ways: one of which is very distinctly described by Pliny, and appears to be the same with that which is still practised in some parts of the Highlands and islands of Scotland ²³⁰. “Oon, which in English signifies “froth, is a dish used by several of the islanders, “and some on the opposite main land, in time “of scarcity, when they want bread. It is made

²²⁷ Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

²²⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 28. c. 9. § 35.

²²⁹ Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

²³⁰ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 28. c. 9. § 35.

“ in the following manner : A quantity of whey
 “ is boiled in a pot, and when it is wrought up
 “ to the mouth of the pot with a long stick of
 “ wood, having a cross at the lower end, it is
 “ turned about like the stick for making choco-
 “ late ; and being thus made, it is supped with
 “ spoons : it is made up five or six times in the
 “ same manner ; and the last is always reckoned
 “ best, and the first two or three frothings the
 “ worst ²³¹.”

The British nations which inhabited the interior and northern parts of this island, at the time of the first Roman invasion, had neither so great plenty nor so great variety of provisions as those of the south ; nor did they understand so well the arts of preparing them for use. Strangers to husbandry and gardening, they were in a great measure strangers to those grains, herbs, and fruits which are produced by those most useful arts. Restrained by some principle of superstition, or by their ignorance of the arts of catching them, they made no use of that great variety, and almost infinite multitude of fishes, with which their rivers, lakes, and seas abounded ²³². By this means, they were reduced to live, like the ancient Germans, on the spontaneous productions of the earth ; on milk, and the flesh of their flocks and herds, and of such animals as they caught in hunting ²³³. This was their con-

Britons of
 the north
 had not
 such va-
 riety of
 provisions.

²³¹ Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Islands.

²³² Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.

²³³ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 23.

dition even in the beginning of the third century, as we learn from the following testimony of Dio Nicæus. "The Maeatæ and Caledonians inhabit barren mountains or marshy plains, have no cultivated or manured lands, but feed on the milk and flesh of their flocks; on what they get by hunting, and on some wild fruits. They never eat fish, though they have great plenty of them. When they are in the woods they feed on roots and leaves ²³⁴."

Cookery
of the Ca-
ledonians.

As these nations had no great variety of provisions, neither had they much art in preparing them for use. Some of the Celtic nations had the art of roasting their acorns and other wild fruits, grinding them into meal, and making them into a kind of bread; but we are not informed whether or not the Maeatæ and Caledonians were acquainted with this art ²³⁵. They were ignorant of the art of making cheese, nor is it very certain that they understood that of making butter ²³⁶. The following account of their manner of dressing venison for a feast may be taken for a sufficient specimen of their cookery. "A pit, lined with smooth stones, was made; and near it stood a heap of smooth flat stones of the flint kind. The stones, as well as the pit, were properly heated with heath. Then they laid some venison in the bottom, and a stratum of stones above it; and thus they did alternately, till the pit was full. The whole

²³⁴ Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.

²³⁵ Strabo, l. 3. p. 155.

²³⁶ Id. *Ibid.* p. 200.

" was,

“ was covered over with heath, to confine the
 “ steam ²³⁷.” This was evidently a very laborious process, and required the assistance of many hands. Accordingly, the greatest heroes did not disdain to assist in preparing the feast of which they were to partake. “ It was on Cromla’s
 “ shaggy side, that Dorglas placed the deer;
 “ the early fortune of the chace, before the
 “ heroes left the hill. A hundred youths collect
 “ the heath, ten heroes blow the fire; three
 “ hundred choose the polished stones. The
 “ feast is smoaking wide ²³⁸.” These nations however, if we may believe Dio, were possessed of a very valuable secret, which he thus describes: “ They make a certain food, that so
 “ admirably supports the spirits, that, when
 “ they have taken the quantity of a bean, they
 “ feel no more hunger or thirst ²³⁹.” All the conjectures which have been formed by modern writers, concerning this food, are vague and uncertain ²⁴⁰.

Water was the only drink of the most ancient inhabitants of this island, as it was of those of many other countries. But it was probably not long before they began to drink the milk, and perhaps the blood of animals, as more warm, pleasant, and nourishing than water. That many ancient nations were accustomed to drink

Drinks of
 the ancient
 Britons.

²³⁷ Ossian’s Poems, v. i. p. 15. note.

²³⁸ Id. *ibid*.

²³⁹ Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.

²⁴⁰ Sibbald Scotia Illustrata, l. i. c. 17, 18, 19, p. 38, &c.

the

the blood of animals warm from their veins, either by itself or mixed with milk, is so well attested, that it can admit of no dispute ²⁴¹. if we could believe Solinus, some of the Britons who inhabited Ireland were such horrid savages; that they even drank the blood of their enemies which they had slain in war ²⁴². But this, it must be confessed, is hardly credible, as are several other things which this writer says of the extreme barbarism of the people of Ireland, with whom the Romans were but very little acquainted. However this may be, it is abundantly evident from history, that very few nations continued long unacquainted with some kind of fermented liquor, which served to warm and strengthen their bodies, to exhilarate and even intoxicate their spirits ²⁴³. The ancient Britons were so far from being strangers to such liquors, when they were invaded by the Romans, that intemperance in the use of them was one of their national vices.

Mead.

Before the introduction of agriculture into this island, mead, or honey diluted with water, and fermented, was probably the only strong liquor known to its inhabitants, as it was to many other ancient nations in the same circumstances ²⁴⁴. This continued to be a favourite be-

²⁴¹ Virg. Georg. l. 3. v. 463. Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 110.

²⁴² Solin. c. 35. p. 166. edit. Basilæ.

²⁴³ Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 109.

²⁴⁴ Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 26. p. 350. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 14. c. 18.

verage among the ancient Britons and their posterity. long after they had become acquainted with other liquors. The mead maker was the eleventh person in dignity in the courts of the ancient princes of Wales, and took place of the physician²⁴⁵. The following ancient law of that principality shews how much this liquor was esteemed by the British princes: “there are
 “three things in the court which must be com-
 “municated to the king before they are made
 “known to any other person: 1. Every sen-
 “tence of the judge. 2. Every new song;
 “and, 3. Every cask of mead²⁴⁶.” This was perhaps the liquor which is called, by Ossian, the joy and strength of shells, with which his heroes were so much delighted²⁴⁷.

After the introduction of agriculture, ale or beer became the most general drink of all the British nations who practised that art, as it had long been of all the Celtic people on the continent²⁴⁸. “All the several nations (says Pliny)
 “who inhabit the west of Europe, have a liquor
 “with which they intoxicate themselves, made
 “of corn and water. The manner of making
 “this liquor is somewhat different in Gaul,
 “Spain, and other countries, and is called by
 “many various names; but its nature and pro-
 “perties are everywhere the same. The people

Ale.

²⁴⁵ *Leges Hoeli Dha*, l. i. c. 22. p. 43. ²⁴⁶ *Id. ibid.* p. 311.

²⁴⁷ *Ossian's Poems*, v. i. p. 16. 74.

²⁴⁸ *Pelloutier Hist. Celt.* l. i. p. 216. *Cluv. Germ. Antiq.* l. i. c. 17. p. 125.

“ of

“ of Spain, in particular, brew this liquor so
 “ well, that it will keep good a long time. So
 “ exquisite is the cunning of mankind, in gra-
 “ tifying their vicious appetites, that they have
 “ thus invented a method to make water itself
 “ intoxicate ²⁴⁹.” The method in which the an-
 cient Britons, and other Celtic nations, made
 their ale, is thus described by Isidorus and Oro-
 sius: “ The grain is steeped in water, and made
 “ to germinate, by which its spirits are excited
 “ and set at liberty; it is then dried and grinded;
 “ after which it is infused in a certain quantity
 “ of water; which being fermented, becomes a
 “ pleasant, warming strengthening, and intoxi-
 “ cating liquor ²⁵⁰.” This ale was most com-
 monly made of barley, but sometimes of wheat,
 oats, and millet.

Wine.

If the Phœnicians or Greeks imported any
 wine into Britain, it was only in very small
 quantities: that most generous liquor was very
 little known in this island before it was con-
 quered by the Romans. After that period, wine
 was not only imported from the continent in
 considerable quantities, but some attempts were
 made to cultivate vines, and make wine in Bri-
 tain ²⁵¹.

Two meals a-day.

The ancient Britons eat only twice a-day;
 making a slight breakfast in the forenoon, and a

²⁴⁹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 14. c. 22. § 29.

²⁵⁰ Isidor. Orig. l. 20. c. 2. p. 1317. Oros. l. 5. p. 259.

Geopon. l. 7. c. 34. p. 203.

²⁵¹ See Chap. V.

supper

supper towards evening, when the labours and diversions of the day were ended²⁵². The last was their chief meal; at which, when they had an opportunity, they eat and drank with great freedom, or even to excess. On these occasions the guests sat in a circle upon the ground, with a little hay, grafs, or the skin of some animal under them²⁵³. A low table or stool was set before each person, with the portion of meat allotted to him upon it. In this distribution, they never neglected to set the largest and best pieces before those who were most distinguished for their rank, their exploits, or their riches²⁵⁴. Every guest took the meat set before him in his hands, and tearing it with his teeth, fed upon it in the best manner he could. If any one found difficulty in separating any part of his meat with his hands and teeth, he made use of a large knife, that lay in a particular place for the benefit of the whole company²⁵⁵. Servants, or young boys and girls, the children of the family, stood behind the guests, ready to help them to drink, or any thing they wanted²⁵⁶.

Manner of eating.

The dishes, in which the meat was served up, were either of wood, or earthen-ware, or a kind of baskets made of osiers²⁵⁷. These last were most used by the Britons, as they very much excelled in the art of making them, both for their

Dishes.

²⁵² Sibbald *Scotia Illustrata*, p. 35.

²⁵³ *Athenæus*, l. 4. c. 13. p. 151. ²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 4. c. 13. p. 152.

²⁵⁵ *Id. ibid.* *Diod. Sicul.* l. 5. § 28. p. 351. ²⁵⁶ *Id. ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Athenæus*, l. 4. c. 13. p. 152.

own use and for exportation²⁵⁸. The drinking vessels of the Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations, were for the most part, made of the horns of oxen and other animals²⁵⁹; but those of the Caledonians consisted of large shells, which are still used by some of their posterity in the Highlands of Scotland²⁶⁰.

Diversions
of the an-
cient Bri-
tons.

As the ancient Britons, especially those of them who were unacquainted with agriculture, enjoyed leisure, so they spent much of their time in diversions and amusements of various kinds; particularly in feasting, accompanied with music and dancing, in hunting and in athletic exercises.

Feasting.

Feasting seems to have been the chief delight of the Germans, Gauls, Britons, and all the other Celtic nations; in which they indulged themselves to the utmost, as often as they had an opportunity. "Among these nations (says
"an author who had carefully studied their man-
"ners), there is no public assembly, either for
"civil or religious purposes, duly held; no
"birth-day, marriage, or funeral properly ce-
"lebrated; no treaty of peace or alliance rightly
"cemented, without a great feast²⁶¹." It was
by frequent entertainments of this kind that the
great men, or chieftains, gained the affections

²⁵⁸ Musgrave Belg. Britan. c. 13. p. 166, 167.

²⁵⁹ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 2. p. 227.

²⁶⁰ Ossian's Poems, passim.

²⁶¹ Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 12. p. 463.

and rewarded the services of their followers; and those who made the greatest feasts were sure to be most popular, and to have the greatest retinue ²⁶². These feasts (in which plenty was more regarded than elegance) lasted commonly several days, and the guests seldom retired until they had consumed all the provisions, and exhausted all the liquors ²⁶³. Athenæus describes an entertainment that was given by Arcamnes, a very wealthy prince in Gaul, which continued a whole year without interruption; and at which all the people of Gaul, and even all strangers who passed through that country, were made welcome ²⁶⁴. At these feasts they sometimes consulted about the most important affairs of state, and formed resolutions relating to peace and war; imagining that men spoke their real sentiments with the greatest freedom, and were apt to form the boldest designs, when their spirits were exhilarated with the pleasures of the table ²⁶⁵. The conversation at these entertainments very frequently turned on the great exploits which the guests themselves, or their ancestors, had performed in war; which sometimes occasioned quarrels, and even bloodshed ²⁶⁶. It was at a feast that the two illustrious British princes, Carbar and Oscar, quarrelled about their own bra-

²⁶² Tacit. de morib. German. c. 14.

²⁶³ Id. ibid. c. 22.

²⁶⁴ Athenæus, l. 4. c. 13. p. 150.

²⁶⁵ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 22.

²⁶⁶ Id. ibid. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 28. p. 353.

very,

very, and that of their ancestors, and fell by mutual wounds ²⁶⁷.

Music and dancing.

As the ancient Britons greatly excelled, and very much delighted in music, all their feasts were accompanied with the joys of song, and the music of harps. In the words of Ossian, “ whenever the feast of shells is prepared, the “ songs of bards arise. The voice of sprightly “ mirth is heard. The trembling harps of joy “ are strung. They sing the battles of heroes, “ or the heaving breasts of love ²⁶⁸.” Some of the poems of that illustrious British bard appear to have been composed in order to be sung by the hundred bards of Fingal, at the feasts of Selma ²⁶⁹. Many of the songs of the bards which were sung and played at the feasts of the ancient Britons, were of a grave and solemn strain, celebrating the brave actions of the guests, or of the heroes of other times; but these were sometimes intermixed with more sprightly and cheerful airs, to which the youth of both sexes danced, for the entertainment of the company ²⁷⁰.

Martial dance.

The Germans, and probably the Gauls and Britons, had a kind of martial dance, which was exhibited at every entertainment. This was performed by certain young men, who, by long

²⁶⁷ Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 8, &c.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. v. 2. p. 9. v. 1. p. 37.

²⁶⁹ Ibid. v. 1. p. 87. 209.

²⁷⁰ Ibid. v. 2. p. 132. Pelloutier Hist. Celt. p. 479.

practice,

practice, had acquired the art of dancing amongst the sharp points of fwords and spears, with such wonderful agility and gracefulness, that they gained great applause to themselves, and gave great delight to the spectators²⁷¹. In one word, feasting, accompanied with songs, music, and dancing, seems to have been the chief, if not the only domestic amusement of the ancient Britons.

Hunting was a favourite diversion of the an-
cient Britons, especially of those who were un-
acquainted with agriculture. Many things con-
curred to make them fond of this exercise; in
which, like all the other Celtic nations, they
spent the greatest part of their time, when they
were not engaged in war²⁷². Hunting was a
kind of apprenticeship to war; and in it the
British youth acquired that courage, strength,
swiftness, and dexterity in handling their arms,
which they afterwards employed against their
enemies. By hunting they delivered their coun-
try from many destructive animals, and slew
others for their own subsistence, and for those
feasts in which they so much delighted. Nay,
by hunting, the young chieftains paid their court
to the fair objects of their love; displaying their
bravery and agility in that exercise before them,
and making them presents of their game.
“Lovely daughter of Cormac (says a British

Hunting.

²⁷¹ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 24.

²⁷² Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 12. p. 449.

“ prince), I love thee as my soul.—I have slain
 “ one stately deer for thee—High was his
 “ branchy head; and fleet his feet of wind ²⁷³.”
 So strong and universal was the passion for this
 diversion among the ancient Britons, that young
 ladies of the highest rank and greatest beauty
 spent much of their time in the chase. “ Com-
 “ hal was a son of Albion; the chief of an hun-
 “ dred hills. One was his love, and fair was
 “ she! the daughter of mighty Conloch.—Her
 “ bow-string sounded on the winds of the forest.
 “ Their course in the chase was one, and happy
 “ were their words in secret ²⁷⁴.”

Instru-
 ments in
 hunting.

The Britons, and other Celtic nations, employed almost the same instruments of death in hunting that they used in war; viz. long spears, javelins, and bows and arrows ²⁷⁵. Besides these, they had dogs to assist them in finding, pursuing, and running down their game. “ From the
 “ hill I return, O Morna, from the hill of the
 “ dark-brown hinds. Three have I slain with
 “ my bended yew. Three with my long bound-
 “ ing dogs of the chase ²⁷⁶.” A royal hunting is thus poetically described by the same illustrious bard: “ Call, said Fingal, call my dogs,
 “ the long bounding sons of the chase. Call
 “ white-breasted Bran; and the furlly strength
 “ of Luath.—Fillan and Fergus, blow my horn,
 “ that the joy of the chase may arise; that the

²⁷³ Ossian's Poems, v. i. p. 8.

²⁷⁴ Ibid. v. i. p. 31.

²⁷⁵ Strabo, l. 4. p. 196.

²⁷⁶ Ossian's Poems, v. i. p. 8.

“ deer

“ deer of Cromla may hear, and start at the
 “ lake of roes.—The shrill sound spreads along
 “ the wood. The sons of healthy Cromla
 “ arise.—A thousand dogs fly off at once;
 “ gray-bounding through the divided heath.
 “ A deer fell by every dog, and three by the
 “ white-breasted Bran ²⁷⁷.” The British dogs
 excelled so much in the exquisiteness of their
 smelling, their swiftness, strength, and fierce-
 ness, that they were admired and purchased by
 foreign nations, and made no inconsiderable ar-
 ticle of commerce ²⁷⁸. They were of several
 different kinds, which were called by different
 names; and were so highly valued by all the
 Celtic nations, that very severe, or rather co-
 mical penalties were inflicted on those who were
 guilty of stealing them; as appears from the re-
 markable law quoted below ²⁷⁹.

When the British youth were neither engaged
 in war nor hunting, they did not (like the less
 lively and active Germans) spend their time in
 sleep and indolence, but in swimming, leaping,
 running, wrestling, throwing the stone, darting
 the lance, riding, driving the chariot, and such
 exercise as fitted them for the field and for the
 chase. Both Herodian and Dio take notice of
 the swiftness, and of the great dexterity of the

Athletic
 exercises.

²⁷⁷ Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 81, 82.

²⁷⁸ See Chap. VI. Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

²⁷⁹ Si quis canem veltraum aut segutium, vel petrunculum, præ-
 sumserit involare, jubemus ut convictus, coram omni populo, poste-
 riora ipsius osculetur.—Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 12. p. 462.

Britons, particularly of the Caledonians, in swimming over rivers, and passing fens and marshes ²⁸⁰. “ If we fly (says Boadicia to her “ army), we are so swift of foot that the Romans “ cannot overtake us; if they fly, they cannot “ escape our pursuit. We can pass over rivers “ by swimming, which they can hardly pass in “ boats ²⁸¹. ” It is not to be imagined, that the Britons could have arrived at that wonderful dexterity in managing their horses, and driving their chariots, described by Cæsar, without having been almost constantly engaged in these exercises from their youth ²⁸². It was natural for the British youth, who lived so much in the open fields, among rivers, woods, and mountains, to vie with each other in leaping, climbing, running, wrestling, and other rural sports. In the Highlands and islands of Scotland, where old customs maintained their ground long after they had been abolished in other parts of this island, those athletic exercises were held in high repute, till of late years. Every chieftain kept a band of brave and active young men about his person, who, in times of peace, were constantly employed in manly exercises. Throwing the stone was one of these exercises; for which purpose a large round stone was placed at the gate of every chieftain’s house, at which every stranger was invited to try his strength and skill.

²⁸⁰ Herod. l. 3. c. 47. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

²⁸¹ Id. *ibid.*

²⁸² Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 33.

Wrestling was the favourite diversion of these youths, in which they were trained up from their childhood, and stimulated by prizes suited to their age²⁸³.

Some readers will perhaps be surpris'd, that games of chance have not been mentioned among the amusements of the ancient Britons. It is very certain that these were not unknown to the Celtic nations in very ancient times. The Germans, in particular, were excessively addicted to these dangerous amusements; and such abandoned, desperate gamesters, that when they had lost all their goods, they staked their very persons²⁸⁴. This might perhaps be owing to that state of indolence in which the Germans sunk when they were not employed in war or hunting: and as the ancient Britons were more active, and delighted more in manly and athletic exercises, they were probably so happy as to have no taste for the sedentary and pernicious games of chance. This much at least is certain, that there is not the most distant allusion to games of this kind in all the works of Ossian, which exhibit such a natural picture of the manners and amusements of the ancient Britons.

Games of
chance.

Readers of different tastes and dispositions will probably form very different opinions of the character, virtues, and vices of the people of this island in the period which hath been now

Character
of the an-
cient Bri-
tons.

²⁸³ Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertation, p. 142.

²⁸⁴ Tacit. de morib. German. c. 24.

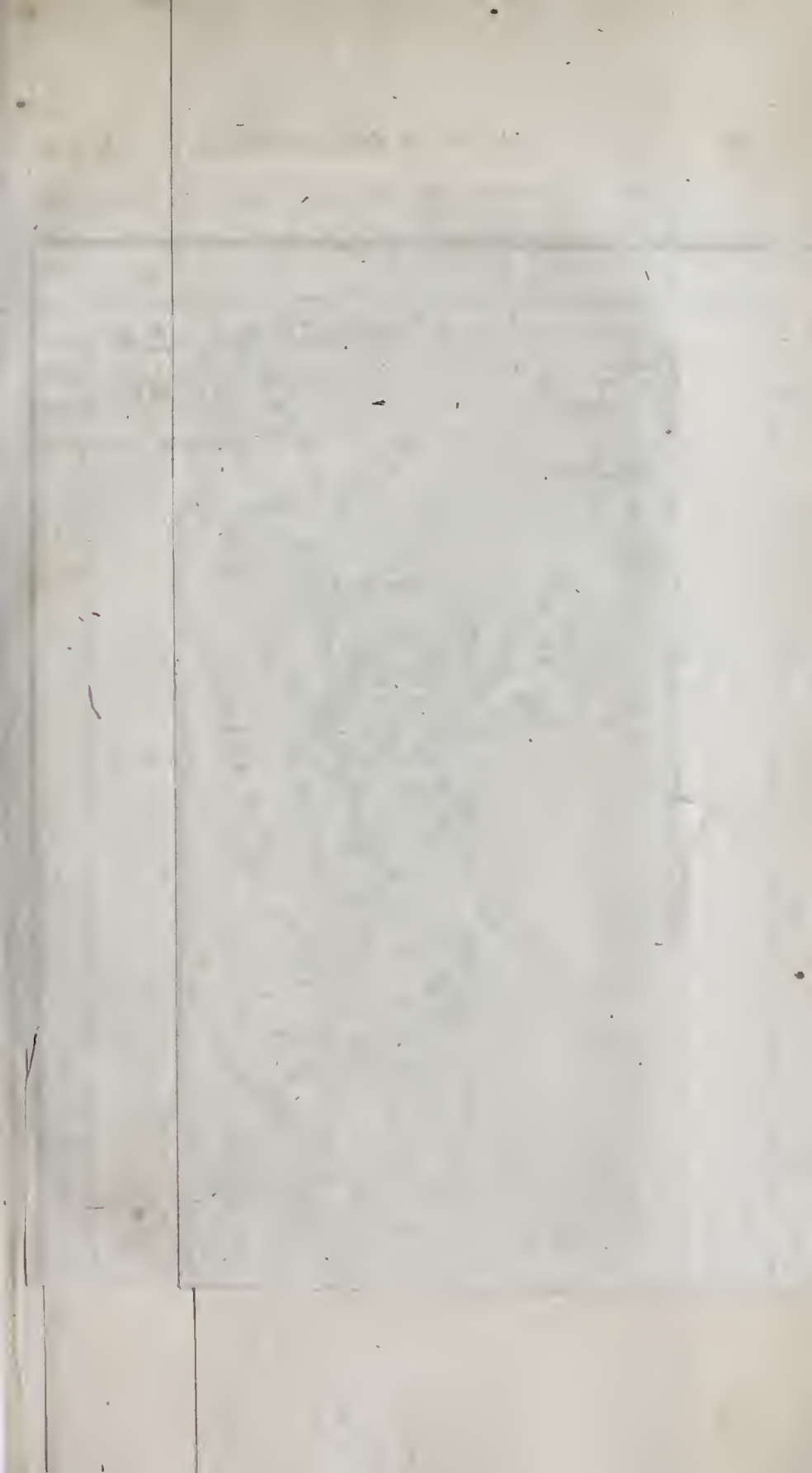
delineated. Some will be charmed with their simplicity, frugality, bravery, hospitality, and other virtues: others will be shocked with their ferocity, rapacity, and rude intemperance; while those who are free from prejudice, and view them with philosophic and impartial eyes, will neither be such blind admirers of their virtues, nor such severe censurers of their vices. They will not deny that they were possessed of the same passions, and subjected to the same evil tendencies of a corrupted nature with the rest of mankind. If some of these passions, particularly those of the sensual kind, were not so much indulged by them as they are in the present age, candid enquirers will not impute this so much to a principle of virtuous self-denial, of which they had little or no idea, as to the want of temptations to inflame, and means to gratify these passions. On the other hand, if some of their passions, particularly those of the vindictive and ferocious kind, were more violent and more freely indulged than they are at present, philosophers will consider, that these passions were under fewer restraints from religion and government, and more inflamed by the unsettled state of society; and will impute their greater ferocity to their circumstances, rather than to their natures. In a word, every candid and intelligent enquirer into the manners and characters of nations will be convinced, that they depend very much upon their circumstances. He will pity and bewail the unhappy state of those nations

tions who were involved in moral and involuntary ignorance, under fewer restraints from religion and government, and at the same time possessed of the means, and exposed to the temptations of gratifying their criminal passions; he will despise none but those who are carefully instructed in the nature, and strongly impressed with convictions of the obligations, beauties, and advantages of virtue, and yet abandon themselves to vice; and will reserve his admiration for those who preserve the vigour of their spirits, and the innocence and purity of their manners, in the midst of strong temptations and great opulence.

There will probably be as great a diversity of opinions about the enjoyments as about the virtues of the ancient Britons. The enthusiastical admirers of antiquity will be delighted with that ease, freedom, and independency which they enjoyed; the healthful plainness and simplicity in which they lived; and the rural sports and amusements in which they spent their time. To such readers Britannia, in this period, will appear another Arcadia, peopled with happy shepherds and shepherdesses, tending their flocks and herds in peace, free from all cares and pains but those of love; and making the hills and dales resound with their melodious songs; never reflecting on the many wants and inconveniencies to which the swains and nymphs were exposed, by their ignorance or very imperfect knowledge of the most useful arts. On the other hand, those who

Circum-
stances of
the ancient
Britons.

are enchanted with the opulence, magnificence, and refinements of modern times, will view, with contempt and pity, the humble cottages, the mean dress, the coarse and scanty fare, and the rustic gambols of the ancient Britons: not considering that nature is satisfied with little, and that if they did not possess, neither did they feel the want of the admired enjoyments of the present age,





BRITISH PEOPLE mentioned by PTOLEMY.

I	Atrebatii	XIX	Durotriges
II	Belgae	XX	Epidii
III	Brigantes	XXI	Gadeni
IV	Caledonii	XXII	Logi
V	Cantae	XXIII	Mertae
VI	Canitii	XXIV	Norantae
VII	Careni	XXV	Ordovices
VIII	Carnonacae	XXVI	Otadeni
IX	Catveuchlani	XXVII	Parisi
X	Cerones	XXVIII	Regni
XI	Coritani	XXIX	Selgovae
XII	Cornavii	XXX	Silva Caledonia
XIII	Cornavii	XXXI	Silures
XIV	Creones	XXXII	Simeni
XV	Damnii	XXXIII	Texali
XVI	Demetae	XXXIV	Trinoantes
XVII	Dobuni	XXXV	Vacomagi
XVIII	Dumnonii	XXXVI	Venicones

A MAP of GREAT BRITAIN, according to PTOLEMY'S Geography RECTIFIED.

APPENDIX
TO THE
FIRST BOOK.

NUMBER I.

THIS map is that of Ptolemy's Geography rectified in p. 356 of Horsley; with the addition of the names of the British nations, taken from the map before the first page of Horsley.

NUMBER II.

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY, *so far as it relates to*
BRITAIN, *with a Translation and Commentary.*

No. II.

PTOLEMY of Alexandria, who flourished in the former part of the second century, under the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, is one of the most ancient geographers whose works are now extant. His description of Great Britain was composed not long after the Romans had subdued the south parts of this island, and while the British nations, even in these parts, retained their ancient names, and possessed their native territories. It cannot therefore but be agreeable to the reader, and assist him in forming right conceptions of the preceding history, to see a distinct and authentic delineation of the state of this island, and of the several nations by which it was inhabited in this early period. To give him this satisfaction, he is here presented with a map of Great Britain, according to Ptolemy's geography of it; the original Greek text of that geography, with a literal translation, on the opposite page; to which is subjoined a short commentary, pointing out the situation of the several British nations, and the modern names of the places mentioned by Ptolemy.

It must be confessed and regretted, that the writings of this ancient geographer abound with errors and mistakes. These errors were partly owing to the imperfect state of geography in his time, and the wrong information he had received concerning those countries which he had not visited in person; and partly to the blunders of his transcribers. Besides many mistakes as to the situation of particular

particular places in Britain, there are two general errors, which affect the whole of his geography of this island. The first of these general errors is this: that he hath made all England decline from the true position as to the length of it; and entirely changed the position of Scotland, making its length from east to west, instead of from south to north. The other general error is, that the whole of South Britain is placed too far north, by two or three degrees; the error being greatest in the north parts. Both these general errors are rectified in the annexed map, which makes the degrees of longitude and latitude of places in the map different from those of Ptolemy; who computes the longitude from Alexandria in Egypt, the place of his residence.

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

BOOK II.

ΚΕΦ. γ.

ΑΛΟΥΤΙΩΝΟΣ νήσος Βρεττανικῆς Θέσις.

Εὐρώπης πίναξ α.

No. II.

Ἀρκτικῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφὴ, ἥς ὑπέρκειται Ὀκεανὸς
καλ' ^αμεν ^βΔεκακλήδονοι ^γ.

Νεαντῶν ^δχερσίνισος, καὶ ὁμώνυμον
ἄκρον - - - κα

Ρέριγόνι ^ε κίλπ ^ζ	-	-	κα λ'	Ξ λ' γ
Οὐιδόλαρα ^η κολπος	-	-	κα γ	Ξ λ'
Κλώτα εἴλυσις ^θ	-	-	κα β δ	υθ γο
Λελαανόνι ^ι κίλπ ^κ	-	-	κα δ	Ξ γο
Ἐπίδιον ἄκρον	-	-	κα γ	Ξ γο
Λόγγου ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	κα δ	Ξ γο
Ἰτυ ^λ ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	κα ζ	Ξ
Ουολτας κίλπ ^μ	-	-	κα θ	Ξ λ'
Ναυαίς ποτ. ἐκβ. ^ν	-	-	λ	Ξ λ'
Ταρειδούμ ἢ καὶ Ἐρκαίς ἄκρα ^ξ	-	-	λα γ	Ξ δ

^α Pal. habet λλ.

^β Pal. Νουάντων.

^γ P. Οὐιδόλαρα.

^δ P. Χλωταίς χύσις.

^ε Palat. Λελαανόνι ^ε.

^η P. Ναυαίς.

^ξ Palat. Ταρούεδουμα.

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER III.

The position of the British Island ALBION.

Europe, TABLE I.

THE description of the northern side, beyond ^a which is the ocean called Deucaledonian. No. II.

Peninsula Novantum ^b , with a promontory of the same name	-	-	-	21°.00'	61°.40'
Rerigonian bay	-	-	-	20.30	60.50
Bay of Vidotara	-	-	-	21.20	60.30
Estuary of Clota	-	-	-	22.15	59.40
Lelannonian bay	-	-	-	24.00	60.40
Promontory of Epidium	-	-	-	23.00	60.40
Mouth of the river Longus	-	-	-	24.00	60.40
Mouth of the river Itys	-	-	-	27.00	60.00
Bay Volfas	-	-	-	29.00	60.30
Mouth of the river Nabaeus	-	-	-	30.00	60.30
Promontories Tarvidum and Orcas ^c	-	-	-	31.20	60.15

^a N. B. ὑπόκειμαι, with Ptolemy, signifies a more southern situation, ἐπέκειμαι a more northern.

^b Νεαντῶν or Νοβάντων χερσόνησος must, I think, be the peninsula of the Novantæ (a people named afterwards), but yet I see it usually called Novantum, and I have complied with the custom.

^c "Tarvidum, which is also called Orcas promontories." So Ptolemy. I suppose they have been too near together, but promiscuously called by one name, either Tarvidum or Orcas.

No. II. Δυσμικῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφῇ, ἥ παράκειται ὃ, τε Ἰουβέρ-
 νι^Θ Ὠκεανὸς καὶ ὁ Οὐιεργιού^Θ, μετὰ τὴν Νεαντῶν

χερσόνη ^ζ ον ἢ ἐπέχει	-	κα	ξα γο
Αὐρακίνου ^h ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ιθ γ	ξα
Ἰηνᾶ εἰχυσίς ⁱ	-	ιθ	ξ λ'
Διούα ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ιη	ξ
Νοξίε ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ιη γ	ιθ λ'
Ἰτῆνα εἰχυσίς ^k	-	ιη λ'	ιη λ'δ
Μορικᾶμβη εἰχυσίς ^l	-	ιζ λ'	ιη γ
Σελαντίων λίμνη ^m	-	ιζ γ	ιζ λ'δ
Βελίσσας εἰχυσίς ⁿ	-	ιζ λ'	ιζ γ
Σετηῖα εἰχ. ^o	-	ιζ	ιζ
Τοισόβι ^Θ ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ιε γο	ιγ γ
Καγκανῶν ἄκρον ^p	-	ιε	ιγ
Σιέκια ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ιε γ	ιγ λ'
Τερόβι ^Θ ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ιε	ιγ
Ὀκλαπίταρον ἄκρον	-	ιδ γ	ιδ λ'
Τοξίς ^q ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ιε λ'	ιδ λ'
Ῥατοσαδυξίς ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ις λ'	ιδ λ'
Σαβριάνα εἰσχυσίς ^r	-	ιζ γ	ιδ λ'
Οὐέξαλα εἰσχυσίς ^s	-	ις	ιγ λ'
Ἡρακλῆς ἄκρον	-	ιδ	ιγ
Ἀντιουέσαιον ἄκρον τὸ καὶ Βολέριον	-	ια	ιβ λ'
Δαμνόνιον τὸ καὶ Ὀκρινον ἄκρον	-	ιβ	ιγ λ'

Τῆς ἐφεξῆς μεσημερινῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφῇ, ἥ ὑπόκειται
 Βρετανικὸς Ὠκεανὸς, μετὰ τὸ Ὀκρινον ἄκρον.

Κενίωνος ποτ. ἐκβολαί ^t	-	ιδ	ιγ λ'δ
Ταμίξας ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	ιε γο	ιγ γ

^h Pal. Ἀδριανῆς.

ⁱ P. Ἰνναίς χύσις.

^k P. Ἰταναίς χύσις.

^l Pal. Μορικαμβήις χύσις.

^m Palat. Σεραλίαν.

ⁿ Pal. Βελισσαμαίς χύσις.

^o P. Σεργιατάτις χύσις.

^p Palat. Γαβρανῶν.

^q P. Τεξίς.

^r Pal. Σαβριανῆς χύσις.

^s Pal. Οὐέξαμαίς χύσις.

^t Hic et in sequentibus habet Pal. singulariter ἐκβολή.

APPENDIX.

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No. II.

The description of the western side, which lies along the

Irish and Vergivian seas, after ^d the peninsula Novan-			
tum, which hath (as above)	-	21.00	61.40
Mouth of the river Abravannus	-	19.20	61.00
Estuary Jena	-	19.00	60.30
Mouth of the river Deva	-	18.00	60.00
Mouth of the river Novius	-	18.20	59.30
Estuary Ituna	-	18.30	58.45
Estuary Moricambe	-	17.30	58.20
Haven of the Setantii	-	17.20	57.45
Estuary Belisama	-	17.30	57.20
Estuary Seteia	-	17.00	57.00
Mouth of the river Toisobius	-	15.40	56.20
Promontory of the Cancani	-	15.00	56.00
Mouth of the river Stucia	-	15.20	55.30
Mouth of the river Tuerobius	-	15.00	55.00
Promontory of Octapitarum	-	14.20	54.30
Mouth of the river Tobius	-	15.30	54.30
Mouth of the river Ratostathybius	-	16.30	54.30
Estuary Sabriana	-	17.20	54.30
Estuary Vaxala	-	16.00	53.30
Promontory of Hercules	-	14.00	53.00
Promontory Antivestaeum, sometimes			
called Bolerium	-	11.00	52.30
Promontory Damnonium, called also			
Ocrinum	-	12.00	51.30

A description of the next side, lying towards the south,
and bounded by the British ocean, after the promontory
Ocrinum.

Mouth of the river Cenion	-	40.00	51.45
Mouth of the river Tamarus	-	15.40	52.10

^d After, i. e. next on the other side, or after we pass it.

No. II.	Ἰσάκα ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	ιζ	ιβ γ
	Ἀλαίνε ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	ιζ γο	ιβ γο
	Μέγας λιμν	-	-	ιθ	ιγ
	Τρίσσιων ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	κ γ	ιγ
	Καινός λιμν	-	-	κα	ιγ λ'
	Κάνιον ἄκρον	-	-	κβ	ιδ

Τῶν ἐφεξῆς πρὸς ἑω καὶ μεσημβρίαν πλευρῶν περιγραφῇ, αἷς
παράκειται Γερμανικὸς Ὀκεανός, μετὰ τὸ Ταρουεδουμ
ἄκρον ἢ Ὀρκας, ὅπερ εἴρηται,

᾽Ουιερεῖδρον ἄκρον	-	-	λα	ξ
Βερβείμ ^υ ἄκρον	-	-	λ λ'	ιθ γα
Ἰλα ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	λ	ιθ γο
᾽Οχθη ὑψηλή	-	-	κθ	ιθ γο
Δόξα ποτ. ἐκβολαί ^κ	-	-	κη λ'	ιθ γο
᾽Ουάρα εἰσχυσις ^γ	-	-	κζ λ'	ιθ γο
Τεαί εἰσχυσις ^κ	-	-	κζ	ιη
Κελνίε ποτ. ἐκβολαί ^α	-	-	κζ	ιη λ'δ
Ταίζαλον ἄκρον	-	-	κζ λ'	ιη λ'
Διά ποτ. ἐκβολαί ^β	-	-	κς	ιη λ'
Ταία εἰσχυσις ^ε	-	-	κε	ιη λ'
Τίνα ποτ. ἐκβολαί ^δ	-	-	κδ λ'	ιη λ'δ
Βοδερία εἰσχ. ^ε	-	-	κβ λ'	ιη λ'δ
Ἀλαύνε ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	κα γο	ιη λ'
᾽Ουέδρα ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	κ ς	ιη λ'
Δοῦνον κόλπ ^θ	-	-	κ δ	ιζ λ'
Γαβραντείκων εὐλόμεν ^θ κόλπ ^θ	-	-	κα	ιζ
᾽Οκέλλε ἄκρον	-	-	κα δ	ις γο
Ἀβε ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	κα	ις λ'
Μελαρίς εἰσχ. ^ε	-	-	κ λ'	ις γο
Γαβρύνου ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	κα	ις γ
Ἐξοχή ^ε	-	-	κα δ	ις ιβ
Ἐιδεμανία ποτ. ἐκβολαί	-	-	κ ς	ις

^υ Pal. ᾽Ουερε.^κ Pal. singulariter ἐκβολαί.^γ P. ᾽Ουαράς χύσις.^κ P. Ταυαίς εἰσχ.^α P. ι.^β Pal. ι.^ε P. Ταυαίς χύσις.^δ P. ι.^ε P. Βοδερίας χύσις.^ε P. Μελαρίς χύσις.

APPENDIX.

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No. II.

Mouth of the river Ifaca	-	-	17.00	52.20
Mouth of the river Alaenus	-	-	17.40	52.40
Great Haven, Portus Magnus	-	-	19.00	53.00
Mouth of the river Trifanton	-	-	20.20	53.00
New Haven, Portus Novus	-	-	21.00	53.30
Promontory Cantium	-	-	22.00	54.00

The description of the next side, lying towards the south-east, along which flows the German ocean, after the promontory Tarvidum or Orcas, mentioned before,

Promontory Vervedrum	-	-	31.00	60.00
Promontory Berubium	-	-	30.30	59.40
Mouth of the river Ila	-	-	30.00	59.40
High-band, Ripa Alta	-	-	29.00	59.40
Mouth of the river Loxa	-	-	28.30	59.40
Estuary Vara	-	-	27.30	59.40
Estuary Tuæ	-	-	27.00	58.00
Mouth of the river Celnus	-	-	27.00	58.45
Promontory Taizalum	-	-	27.30	58.30
Mouth of the river Diva	-	-	26.00	58.30
Estuary Tava	-	-	25.00	58.30
Mouth of the river Tinna	-	-	24.30	58.45
Estuary Boderia	-	-	22.30	58.45
Mouth of the river Alaunus	-	-	21.40	58.30
Mouth of the river Vedra	-	-	20.10	58.30
Bay of Dunum	-	-	20.15	57.30
Bay of Gabrantuici, with a safe harbour	-	-	21.00	57.00
Promontory of Ocellum	-	-	21.15	56.40
Mouth of the river Abus	-	-	21.00	56.30
Estuary Metaris	-	-	20.30	55.40
Mouth of the river Garryenum	-	-	21.00	55.20
Prominence, Extensio	-	-	21.15	55.05
Mouth of the river Idumania	-	-	20.10	55.00

No. II.	Ἰάμισσα εἰσχ. ^g	-	-	κ λ'	νδ λ'
	Μεθ' ἢν τὸ Ἀκάνθιον ^h ἄκρον	-	-	κβ	νδ

Οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρκτηκὴν πλευράν, ὑπὸ τὴν
ἑμῶνυμον χερσίνησον, ΝΟΥΑΝΤΑΙ· παρ' οἷς εἰσι πόλεις
αἷδε,

Λεκοπιβία	-	-	ιθ	ξ γ
Ῥετιγόμιον	-	-	κ ς	ξ γο

Ἵφ' ἔς ΣΕΛΓΟΥΑΙ, παρ' οἷς πόλⁱ.

Καρβαντόριον	-	-	ιθ	νθ γ
Οὔξελον ^k	-	-	ιη λ'	νθ γ
Κόρδα	-	-	κ	νθ γο
Τριμόνιον	-	-	ιθ	νθ

Τάτων δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ΔΑΜΝΙΟΙ, μὲν ἀρχικώτεροι, ἐν
οἷς πόλεις^l,

Κολανία	-	-	κ λ'	νθ ς
Ῥουανδάρια	-	-	κα γο	ξ
Κορία	-	-	κ λ'	νθ γ
Ἀλαῖνα	-	-	κβ λ'δ	νθ γ
Λίνδον	-	-	κγ	νθ λ'
Οὐκτορία ^m	-	-	κγ λ'	νθ

ΓΑΔΗΝΟΙⁿ δὲ ἀρχικώτεροι.

ΩΤΑΔΗΝΟΙ δὲ μεσημβρινώτεροι, ἐν οἷς πόλεις^o,

Κερία ^p	-	-	κ ς	νθ
Βρεμένιον ^q	-	-	κα	νη λ'δ

Μετὰ δὲ τῆς Δαμνόνιος πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀρχικώτεροι μὲν,
ἀπ' αὐτῶν Ἐπιδίαι ἄκρη ὡς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ.

^g Ἰαμισσᾶς χ.

^h P. Βάλλιον.

ⁱ P. addit. αἷδε.

^k Pal. Οὐξελλον.

^l P. addit. αἷδε.

^m Οὐκτορία.

ⁿ P. Γαρείοι.

^o Pal. addit. εἰδῆ.

^p P. Κέρια.

^q P. Αρεμένιον.

Estuary Jamiffa	-	-	20.30	54.30	No. II.
After which is the promontory Acantium			22.00	54.00	

On the north side [of the island] are the NOVANTAE, under the peninsula which bears the same name with them; and among them are the following towns:

Lucopibia	-	-	19.00	60.20
Retigionium	-	-	20.10	60.40

Under (or south from them) are the SELGOVAE, and among them these towns:

Carbantorigum	-	-	19.00	59.20
Uxelum	-	-	18.30	59.20
Corda	-	-	20.00	59.40
Trimontium	-	-	19.00	59.00

Eastward of these, and of a more northern situation than the following people, are the DAMNII: and their towns are

Colania	-	-	20.30	59.10
Vanduara	-	-	21.40	60.00
Coria	-	-	21.30	59.20
Alauna	-	-	22.45	59.20
Lindum	-	-	23.00	59.30
Victoria	-	-	23.30	59.00

The GADENI of a more northern situation [i. e. than the Otadeni].

The OTADENI more to the south, among whom are these towns:

Curia	-	-	20.10	59.00
Bremenium	-	-	21.00	58.45

After the Damnii eastward, but more northerly, and inclining to the east from the promontory Epidium, are the EPIDII.

No. II. Μεθ' ἑς ΚΑΡΩΝΕΣ[†].

Εἴτα ΚΑΡΝΟΝΑΚΑΙ.

Εἴτα ΚΑΡΗΝΟΙ.

Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι καὶ τελευταῖοι ΚΟΡΝΑΒΤΟΙ.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Λαλαμνονίης κόλπου μέχρι τῆς Οὐάραρ εἰσχύσεως
ΚΑΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ.Καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὁ Καληδόνι^ος ὄρυμός.

Ὡν ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ ΚΑΝΤΑΙ.

Μεθ' ἑς ΛΟΓΟΙ, Συνάπλωνες τοῖς ΚΟΡΝΑΥΤΙΟΙΣ.

Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Λόγης ΜΕΡΤΑΙ.

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Καληδονίης ΟΥΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ, παρ' οἷς πόλεις,

Βανατία	-	-	κδ	νθ λ'
Τάμεια	-	-	κε	νθ γ
Πτερωτὸν γρατόπεδον		-	κζ δ	νθ γ
Τέσσις	-	-	κς λ'δ	νθ γ

Ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους δυσμικώτεροι μὲν ΟΥΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς
πόλεις,

Οῤρεα	-	-	κδ	νη λ'δ
-------	---	---	----	--------

Ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις,

Δηάνα	-	-	κς δ	νθ λ'δ
-------	---	---	------	--------

Πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς Ελγοάας, καὶ τῆς Ὠταδηνούς δῖηκονίης
ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὰ πελάγη, ΒΡΙΓΑΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

Ἐπείακον	-	-	ικ λ'	νη λ'
Οὐιννοσίον	-	-	ιζ λ'	νη
Κατερράκλιόνιον	-	-	κ	νη
Κάλατον	-	-	ιθ	νζ λ'
Ἰσάριον	-	-	κ	νζ γο
Ῥιγόδουνον	-	-	ιη	ιζ λ'
Ὀλίκανα	-	-	ιθ	νζ λ'
Ἐβόρακον	-	-	κ	νζ γ

[†] P. inf. εἴτα ἀνατολ. ΚΡΕΟΝΕΣ.

Next to them the CERONES, [and then east from them the CREONES^e.]

Then the CARNONACAE.

Next the CARENI.

The last and more easterly are the CORNABYI.

From the Laelamnonian bay, to the estuary of Varar, are the CALEDONII.

And north of them the Caledonian wood.

But more to the east than they are, the CANTAE.

Next to them are the LOGI, adjoining to the CORNAVII.

And north from the Logi lie the MERTAE.

South from the Caledonii are the VACOMAGI, whose towns are these :

Banatia	-	-	24.00	59.30
Tamea	-	-	25.00	59.20
The winged camp, Alata castra	-	-	27.15	59.20
Tuefis	-	-	26.45	59.10

South from them are the VENICONTES to the west, and their town

Orrea	-	-	24.00	58.45
-------	---	---	-------	-------

To the east the TEXALI, and the town

Devana	-	-	26.15	59.45
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Again, south from the Elgovae^f, and the Otadeni, and reaching from sea to sea, are the BRIGANTES, whose towns are,

Epiacum	-	-	18.30	58.30
Vinnovium	-	-	17.30	58.00
Caturraetonium	-	-	20.00	58.00
Calatum	-	-	19.00	57.30
Ifurium	-	-	20.00	57.40
Rigodunum	-	-	18.00	57.30
Olicana	-	-	19.00	57.30
Eboracum	-	-	20.00	57.20

^e This is taken from the Palatine Copy.

^f Selgovae, before.

No. II.

ΛΕΓΙΩΝ ΕΚΤΗ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΟΣ.

Καμουνηλῶθενον - - ιη δ νζ

Πρὸς οἷς, περὶ τὸν εὐλίμενον κόλπον, ΠΑΡΙΣΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις,
Πέλουαρία - - κ γο νς γο

Ἰπὸ δὲ τούτους, καὶ τὰς Βρίγαντας οἰκῆσι δυσμικώτατα μὲν
ΟΡΔΟΥΙΚΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

Μεδιολαγίον - - ις λ' δ νς γο

Βραυνογένιον - - ις νς δ

Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι ΚΟΡΑΥΙΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,
Δηούνα - - ιη λ' νε

Καὶ ΛΕΓΙΩΝ Κ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΟΣ.

Ούιροκύνιον - - ις λ' δ νε λ' δ

Μεθ' οὗς ΚΟΡΙΤΑΝΙΟΙ ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

Λίνδον - - ιη γο νε λ' δ

Ῥάγε³ - - ιη νε λ'

Εἴτα ΚΑΤΤΕΤΧΛΑΝΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

Σαλήναι¹ - - κ ς νε γο

Ῥουολάνιον - - ιθ γ νε λ'

Μεθ' οὗς ΣΙΜΕΝΟΙ², ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

Οὔεντα - - κ λ' νε γ

Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι, παρὰ τὴν Ἰμνηζαν εἰσχυζιν⁴, ΤΡΙ-
ΝΟΑΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις

Καμεδόλανον - - κα νε

Πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ τὰ εἰρημένα ἔθνη, δυσμικώτατοι μὲν, ΔΗΜΗ-
ΤΑΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

Λαέντινον - - ιε λ' δ νε ς

Μαρίδουνον - - ιε λ' νε γο

³ Pal. Ῥεζάται.

¹ Pal. Σαλιῆζι.

² Pal. Ἰμ.

⁴ P. Ἰμνηζανίς χύσις.

APPENDIX.

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No. II.

LEGIO SEXTA VICTRIX.

Camunlodunum - - 18.15 57.00
Beside these, about the well-havened bay, are the PARISI, and the town Petuaria - 20.40 56.40

South from these and the Brigantes, but the most western, are situated the ORDOVICES; among whom are the following towns:

Mediolanium - - 19.45 56.40
Brannogenium - 16.00 56.15

More to the east than these are the CORNAVII, and their towns,

Deuna - - - 18.30 55.00

LEGIO VICESIMA VICTRIX.

Viroconium - - 16.45 55.45

Next these are the CORITANI, and their towns,

Lindum - - - 18.40 55.45
Rage - - - 18.00 55.30

Then the CATYEVCHLANI, whose towns are

Salenae - - - 20.10 55.40
Urolanium - - 19.20 55.30

Next these are the SIMENI, their town is

Venta - - - 20.30 55.20

And more easterly, beside the estuary Jamenfa, are the

TRINOANTES, whose town is

Camudolanum - - - 21.00 55.00

Again, south from the countries before mentioned, but in the most western part, are the DEMETAE, among whom are these towns:

Luentinum - - - 15.45 55.10
Maridunum - - - 15.30 55.40

No. II.		Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι ΣΙΑΤΡΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλις			
	Βούλλαιον	-	-	ις γ	νε
Μεθ'	οὓς ΔΟΒΟΥΝΟΙ, καὶ πόλις				
	Κορίνιον	-	-	ιη	νδ ς
Εἴτα	ΑΤΡΕΒΑΤΙΟΙ, καὶ πόλις				
	Ναλκία ^γ	-	-	ιθ	νδ δ
Μεθ'	οὓς ἀνατολικώτατοι ΚΑΝΤΙΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλις,				
	Λονδίνιον	-	-	κ	νδ
	Δαρούεον ^ζ	-	-	κα	νγ γο
	Ῥουτέπιαι	-	-	κα λ'δ	νδ
Πάλιν τοῖς μὲν Ἀτρεβατίοις καὶ τοῖς Καντίοις ὑπώκεινται					
ΡΗΓΝΟΙ, καὶ πόλις					
	Νοιόμαγ ^θ	-	-	ιθ λ'δ	νγ γιβ
Τοῖς δὲ Δοξανοῖς, ΒΕΛΓΑΙ, καὶ πόλεις,					
	Ἰχάλις	-	-	ις γο	νγ λ'
	Ἰδατα Φερμά	-	-	ιζ γ	νγ γο
	Οὔεντα	-	-	ιη γο	νγ λ'
Τούτων δ' ἀπὸ δυσμῶν καὶ μεσημβρίας ΔΟΥΡΟΤΡΙΤΕΣ,					
ἐν οἷς πόλις					
	Δοῦνιον	-	-	ιη λ'δ	νε ιβ
Μεθ'	οὓς δυσμικώτατοι ΔΟΥΜΝΟΝΙΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλις,				
	Ουόλίβα	-	-	ιδ λ'δ	νβ γ
	Οὔξελα	-	-	ιε	νβ λ'δ
	Ταμαρή	-	-	ιε	νβ δ
	Ἰσκα	-	-	ιζ λ'	νβ λ'δ
	ΛΕΓΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	-	-	ιμ λ'	νβ ζ'ιβ

^γ Pa. Κιλκία.^ζ Pal. Δαξάρονον.

More easterly than these are the SILURES, whose town is **No. II.**
 Bullaeum - - - 16.20 55.00

Next them are the DOBVNI, and the town
 Corinium - - - 18.00 54.10

Then the ATREBATHI and the town
 Nalcua - - - 19.00 54.15

Next these, and in the most eastern part, are the CANTII,
 and among them these towns:

Londinium	-	-	20.00	54.00
Daruenum	-	-	21.00	53.40
Rutupiae	-	-	21.45	54.00

Again, the REGNI lie south from the Atrebatii and the
 Cantii, and the town

Neomagus	-	-	19.45	53.25
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Also the BELGAE lie south from the Dobuni, and the towns

Ifschalis	-	-	16.40	53.30
Aquae calidae	-	-	17.20	53.40
Venta	-	-	18.40	53.30

South-west from these are the DVROTRIGES, and their
 town Dunium - - - 18.50 52.05

Next to them, in the most western part, are the DVM-
 NONII, among whom are these towns:

Voliba	-	-	14.45	52.20
Uxela	-	-	15.00	52.45
Tamare	-	-	15.00	52.15
Ifca	-	-	17.30	52.45
LEGIO SECUNDA AVGUSTA	-	-	17.30	52.35

No. II. Νῆσοι δὲ παράκεινται τῇ Ἀλουίων⊙, κατὰ μὲν ὄρ-
κάδα ἄκραν,

Οκητις νῆσ⊙	-	-	λβ γο	ξ λδ
Δοῦμνα νῆσ⊙	-	-	λ	ξα

Ὑπὲρ ἣν ΟΡΚΑΔΕΣ, περὶ τριάνοντα τὸν ἄριθμον, ὧν
το μεταξὺ ἐπέχει μοίρας - λ ξα γο

Καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτάς ἡ ΘΟΥΛΗ, ἥς τὰ μὲν δυσμικώτατα
ἐπέχει μοίρας - - κθ ξγ
Τὰ δὲ ἀνατολικώτατα - λα γο ξγ
Τὰ δὲ ἀρκτικώτατα - λ γ ξγ δ
Τὰ δὲ νοτιώτατα - - λ γ ξδ γο
Τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ - - λ γ ξγ

Κατὰ δὲ τὰς Τρίνοαντας νῆζι εἰσιν αἰδε,

Ταλιάπιδ	-	-	κγ	νδ δ
Κώουν⊙ νῆσ⊙	-	-	κδ	νδ λ'

Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα νῆσ⊙ ΟΥΗΚΤΙΣ, ἥς το' μέζον
ἐπέχει μοίρας - - ιθ γ ιβ γ

APPENDIX.

395.

The islands adjacent to Albion, near the promontory No. II.

Orcas, are these,

The Island Ocetis	-	-	-	32.40	60.45
The island Dumna	-	-	-	30.00	61.00

Beyond which are the ORCADES, about thirty in number,
the middle one of which has degrees 30.00 61.40

And again, beyond these is THVLE, the most western

part of which has degrees	-	-	-	29.00	63.00
the most eastern	-	-	-	31.40	63.00
the most northern	-	-	-	30.20	63.15
the most southern	-	-	-	30.20	62.40
the middle	-	-	-	30.20	63.00

Besides the Trinoantes, are these islands,

Toliapis	-	-	-	23.00	54.15
The island Counus	-	-	-	24.00	54.30

South from the Great-haven, is the island VECTIS, the
middle of which has degrees - 19.20 52.20

COMMENTARY *on the preceding* Geography of BRITAIN.

No. II. **I**N giving a very brief illustration of Ptolemy's description of Great Britain, we shall first attend him along the sea-coasts, which form the outlines of this island; and then through the several British nations, and their towns, in the same order in which they are placed in the description.

I. The northern side.

1. The Rerigonian bay is Loch-Rain, formed by the Mul of Galloway.
2. The bay Vidotara, the bay near the mouth of the river which runs by Aire.
3. Estuary of Clota, or Glota, the firth of Clyde.
4. Lelannonian bay; Loch-Finn, formed by the Mul of Cantyre, and part of Argyleshire.
5. Promontory of Epidium, the Mul of Cantyre.
6. The river Longus, is the river which runs up to Innerlochy, in Lochabir.
7. The river Itys, one of the rivers which run into the sea opposite to the Isle of Sky.
8. Bay Volfas, Loch-bay, in Rossshire.
9. The river Nabæus, is the river Unnabol, in Strathnavern.
10. The promontories Tarvidum and Orcas, Faro-head, at the north-west point of Scotland.

II. The western side, which lies along the Irish and Vergivian seas.

The Hibernian and Vergivian sea, is that sea which washes the western side of Britain, and flows between

it and Ireland ; and is now called St. George's Channel, and the Irish Sea. The peninsula Novantum, is the Mul of Galloway in Scotland. No. II.

1. The Abravannus, is probably that small river which falls into the bay of Glenluce, a little to the south of the Mul of Galloway. From the British words Aber Avan, the mouth of a river.

2. The estuary Jena, can be no other than the bay near Wigtown in Galloway ^a.

3. The river Deva, is evidently the river Dee in Galloway, which falls into the sea at Kirkudbright.

4. The river Novius, is the river Nith, which empties itself into the Solway Firth, a little below the town of Dumfries.

5. The estuary Ituna, is unquestionably the Solway Firth, which now divides England from Scotland on the west side.

8. The estuary Moricambe, is probably the bay into which the river Ken empties itself, near Kendal. The name of it (as Baxter imagines) is derived from the British words Mor iu Camva, which signify a great bending of the sea ^b.

7. The haven of the Selantii, must be near the mouth of the river Ribble.

8. Estuary Belasama, the bay near Liverpool, at the mouth of the river Mersey. From Bel is Ama, the mouth of a river ^c.

9. Estuary of Seleia, the firth at the mouth of the river Dee, which flows up to Chester.

10. The river Toisobius, is probably the river Conway.

11. Promontory of the Cancani, is thought to be Brachipult Point in Caernarvonshire.

^a Baxter. Gloss. Ant. Brit. p. 2.

^b Id. p. 179.

^c Id. p. 38.

No. II.

12. The mouth of the river Stucia, Mr. Horsley thinks is the mouth of the river Dovic; but both Baxter and Camden imagine it to be Aberistwith, or the mouth of the river Ystwith in Cardiganshire ^d.

13. The river Tuirobis, is universally agreed to be the river Tyvi.

14. The promontory Octopitarum, is evidently St. David's-Head in Pembrokeshire.

15. The river Tobius, is unquestionably the river Towy, in Caermarthenshire.

16. The river Ratoſtathibius, or (as Baxter thinks it was originally written) Ratoſtaubius, is the river Wye, derived from Rot ei Tav, the course of a river ^e.

17. The estuary Sabriana, is the noble river Severn, derived from its British name Havrian, which is Haavrian, the queen of rivers ^f.

18. The estuary Vexala, is probably the bay at the mouth of the river Brent, in Somersetshire.

19. The promontory of Hercules, is Hartland Point, in the west corner of Devonshire.

20. The promontory Antiveſteum, or Bolerium, is either cape Cornwall or the Land's-end; perhaps called Antweſterium, from the British words An diuez Tir, which signify the Land's-end; Bolerium, from Bel e rhin, the head of a promontory ^g.

21. The promontory Ocrinum, is undoubtedly the Lizard point in Cornwall, probably called Ocrinium, from Och Rhen, a high promontory; and as the Britons kept possession of Cornwall so long, we need not be surprised that the present name of that promontory, the Lizard, is also of British derivation, from Lis-ard, a lofty

^d Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 376. Baxter. Gloss. Ant. Brit. 220. Camd. Brit. 772. ^e Baxter, p. 200. ^f Id. p. 206. ^g Id. p. 19. 36.

projection. Here ends Ptolemy's description of the western coast of Britain ^b. No. II.

III. A description of the next side, lying towards the south, bounded by the British ocean (now commonly called the English Channel), next after the promontory Ocrinum or Lizard.

1. The mouth of the river Cenion, is supposed to be Falmouth-haven; so called from the British word Gencu, a mouth; and of which there is still some vestige in the name of a neighbouring town, Tregonny ⁱ.

2. The river Tamarus still retains its ancient name, being called Tamar, from Tam a rav, gentle river; and its mouth is Plymouth-haven ^k.

3. The river Ifaca, or rather Ifca, is the river Ex, which, passing Exeter, falls into the sea at Exmouth.

4. The river Alaenus, is supposed to be the river Ax, and its mouth Ax-mouth. It was perhaps called Alaenus, from A laün iii, the full river ^l.

Great-haven, or Portus Magnus, is commonly supposed to be Portsmouth; but that is either a mistake, as its situation does not agree with the order in which Ptolemy proceeds from west to east, or some careless transcriber hath placed it before the river Trefanton by mistake. This last supposition seems to be the most probable.

6. The river Trefanton, is most probably the river Test, which falls into Southampton bay.

7. The New-haven, Mr. Horsley supposes to have been at the mouth of the river Rottiar, near Rye; but both Camden and Baxter make it the same with Portus Lemanis, or Lime in Kent, now a small village, but in

^b Baxter, p. 186.

ⁱ Id. p. 77. Camd. Brit. p. 16.

^k Baxter, *ibid.* p. 222.

^l Id. p. 10.

No. II. the Roman times a sea-port, and a place of considerable note ^m.

8. The promontory Cantium is universally agreed to be the North Foreland in Kent, where Ptolemy's description of the south coasts of Britain terminates.

IV. Description of the next side, lying towards the south east, bounded by the German ocean, after the promontory Tarvidum or Orcas, mentioned before.

1. Promontory Vervedrum, Strathy-head, in the north of Scotland.

2. Promontory Birubium, Dungsby head, in the north of Scotland.

3. The river Ila, empties itself into a bay near Nose-head.

4. Ripa Alta, Ord-head, in Sutherland.

5. River Loxa, the river Loth in Sutherland.

6. The estuary Vara, is the firth of Tayne in Sutherland.

7. The estuary Tua, is Cromarty, or Murray firth.

8. The river Celnus, is the river Spay, in the shire of Elgin.

9. The promontory Taizalum, is Kynaird-head, near Frazerburgh, in Buchan.

10. The river Diva, is the river Dee at Aberdeen.

11. The estuary Tava, is the firth of Tay.

12. The river Finna, is the river Eden in Fife.

13. The estuary Boderia, or firth of Forth in Scotland.

14. The river Alaunus, Horsley supposes, is the Tweed, but Camden and Baxter think it is the river Alne in Northumberland; and their conjecture is favoured by the affinity of the names ⁿ.

^m Horsley, p. 374. Camden, p. 255. Baxter, p. 149.

ⁿ Horsley, p. 364. Camden, p. 1093. Baxter, p. 11.

15. The river Vedra. Horsley differs in his opinion about this river also from Camden and Baxter; he sup-
 No. II. posing it to be the river Tyne, and they the river Were^o.

16. The bay of Dunum, is most probably the bay at the mouth of the river Tees.

17. The bay of Gabrantuici, is evidently Burlington bay, on the coast of Yorkshire.

18. The promontory Ocellum, is generally supposed to be Spurn-head; and Mr. Baxter, with great probability, thinks the name is derived from the British word Ochel, lofty. There is a very lofty mountain in Scotland called Ocelli-mons, Ochill-hills, for the same reason^p.

19. The river Abus, is unquestionably the Humber.

20. The estuary Metaris, is the Washes between Norfolk and Lincolnshire, called Boston-deep.

21. The river Garyenum, is the river Yare, and its mouth is at Yarmouth.

22. The Prominence, is perhaps Easton-nefs, on the coast of Suffolk.

23. The river Idumania, is probably the river Blackwater in Essex.

24. The estuary Jameffa, or as it ought rather to have been written, Tameffa, is evidently the mouth of the river Thames, probably so called from the British words Tamise, a troop or collection of waters^q.

25. The promontory Cantium, is the north Foreland in Kent, where Ptolemy's description of the sea coasts of Britain ends. We cannot avoid observing that there are several conspicuous promontories, considerable rivers, and commodious harbours, both on the west, south, and east coasts of Britain, which are wholly omitted by Ptolemy. This might be owing to his defective information, or the imperfect knowledge which the Romans still had of the

^o Horsley, p. 377: Camden, p. 944. Baxter, p. 235.

^p Baxter, p. 186.

^q Id. p. 222.

No. II. country, or because these places were little frequented at that time. We may further observe, that many, perhaps all, the names of rivers, promontories, and other places, are significant in the ancient British tongue; a proof that the Romans did not usually impose new names upon places, but adopted and latinized the old ones; and that they regarded and frequented those places most, which had been most regarded and frequented by the British nations. This will appear still more evident, from a very short survey of these nations, with their chief towns, in the same order in which they are named by Ptolemy.

That part of Britain which was on the south of the wall of Antoninus, between the firths of Forth and Clyde, contained, according to Ptolemy, the following twenty-two British nations:

I. The *Novantæ*, near the peninsula called *Novantum*, now the *Mul* of Galloway, possessed, according to Camden, the countries of Galloway, *Carriæ*, *Kyle*, and *Cunningham*. Baxter supposes they were called *Nouantæ*, from the British words *Now hent*, new inhabitant, and that they had come originally from the neighbouring coasts of Ireland. He further observes, that their more modern name of *Gallowedians*, also implies that they were strangers^r. Their towns were,

1. *Lucopibia*, or as Baxter thinks it should have been written, *Lukoikidion*, is of the same signification with *Candida Casa* in Latin, and *Whithern* in Saxon, and was most probably the same place; and that it derived its name from a custom of the ancient Celts of white-washing their chief buildings^s.

2. *Religionum*, or, as Camden and Baxter imagine it was written, *Beregonium*, they suppose was *Bargeny* in *Carriæ*^t.

^r Camden, p. 1199. Baxter, p. 184. ^s Camden, p. 1200. Baxter, p. 65.

^t Camden, p. 1303. Baxter, p. 40.

II. The Selgovæ inhabited Nithsdale, Annandale, and Ekedale, along the shores of Solway firth, which still retains their name, derived from *Sail go*, salt sea ^u.
 Their towns were, No. II.

1. Carbantorigum, which Horsley places at Bardanna, on the river Nith, above Dumfries, and Camden at Caerlaverock, below it, was probably situated where Dumfries now stands, or a little below it. The name seems to be derived from *Caer vant o rig*, a town near the mouth of a river. Baxter is certainly mistaken in placing it at Melrofs ^x.

2. Uxelum is placed, both by Horsley and Baxter, at Caerlaverock; and what renders this the more probable is, that the two names, Uxelum and Caerlaverock, seem to be derived from British words which signify the same thing, viz. a town near the sea-coast ^y.

3. Corda being situated further to the north-west than the other towns of the Selgovæ, it is thought to have stood on the banks of Loch-cure, out of which the river Neith springs ^z.

4. Tremanteum was probably situated where Annan now stands.

III. The Damnii were the ancient inhabitants of Clydesdale, and they seem to have possessed also some places beyond the wall of Antoninus, in Lenox and Stirlingshire ^a. Their towns were,

1. Colonia, which cannot be Coldingham in the Mers, as Camden and Baxter conjectured, because that is at too great a distance, and belonged to another nation.

^u Camden, p. 1194. Baxter, p. 215. ^x Horsley, p. 366. Camden, p. 1197. Baxter, p. 67. ^y Horsley, p. 378. Baxter, p. 256.

^z Camden, p. 1197. Baxter, p. 67. Horsley, p. 367.

^a Camden, p. 1209.

No. II. It is more probable that it was situated at or near **La-
nerk**, the shire town of Clydesdale^b.

2. Vanduara; as this town was considerably to the north-west of Colonia, it was most probably at or near Paisley, where Mr. Horsley places it^c.

3. Coria or Curia. The conjectures about the situation of this place are various and doubtful; but upon the whole, that of Mr. Baxter seems to be the most probable, who places it at Kirkintilloch, a place of great antiquity, upon the wall, about six miles from Glasgow^d.

4. Alauna, Mr. Horsley contends was situated near Falkirk, upon the Roman wall, at a place called Camelon, where there are still some vestiges of a Roman town; while Mr. Baxter is equally positive, that it was where Stirling now stands^e. Let the reader determine.

5. Lindum, both in the sound and signification of its name, bears so great a resemblance to Linlithgow, that it is most probably the same place, though its situation doth not exactly agree with that assigned by Ptolemy, who is far from being correct in that particular^f.

6. Victoria, Camden supposes may be the ancient British town mentioned by Bede, called **Caer Guidi**, and situated in **Inch-keith**, a small island in the firth of Forth. Baxter contends earnestly for **Ardoch** in **Strath-earn**; while Horsley prefers **Abernethy**^g. A proof that it is now impossible to discover, with certainty, where this place was situated.

IV. The **Gadeni**. We can hardly suppose, with Camden, that this people possessed so large a tract of country as all **Tiviotdale**, **Twedale**, **Mers**, and the

^b Camden, p. 1179. Baxter, p. 83. Horsley, p. 367.

^c Horsley, p. 377.

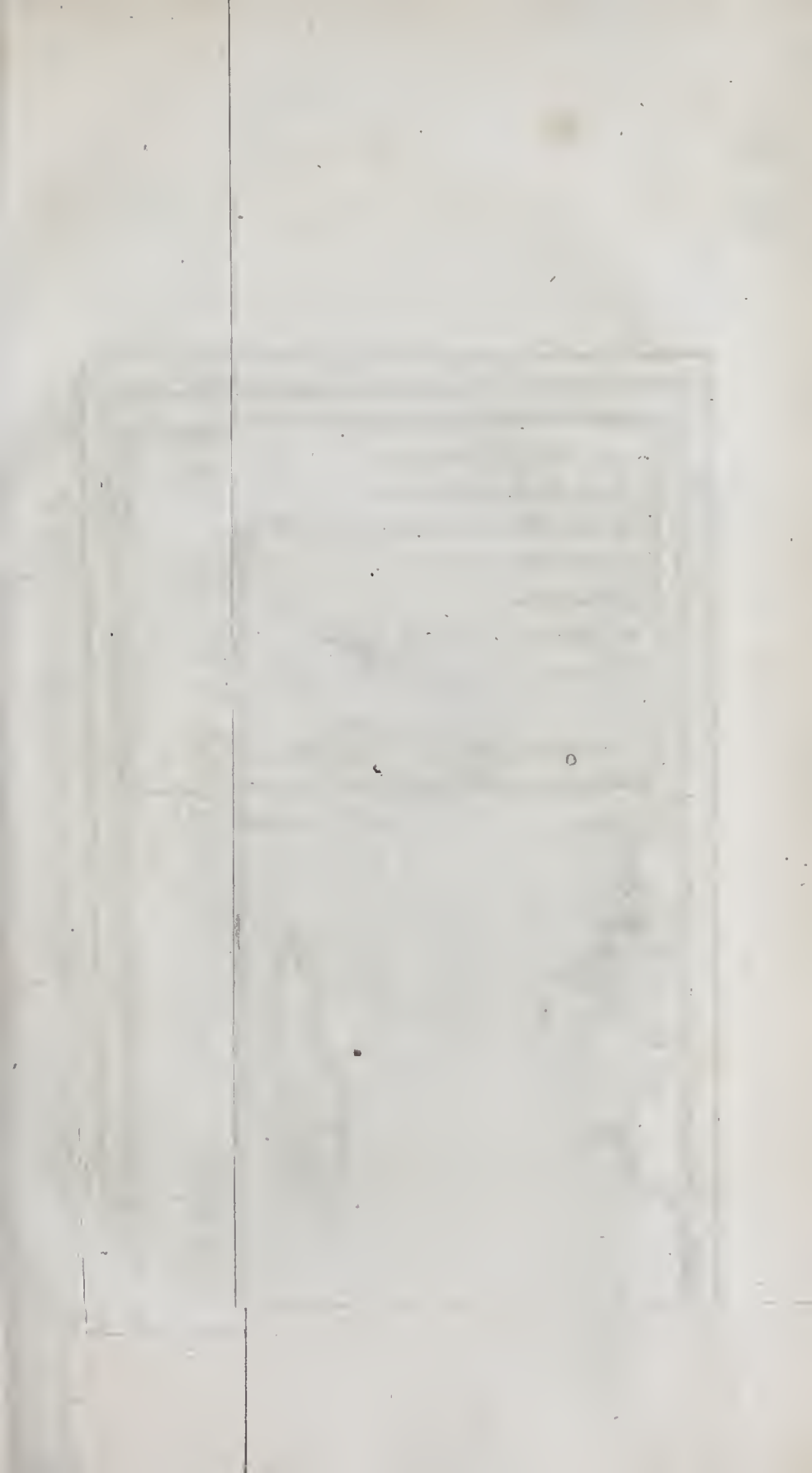
^d Baxter, p. 95.

^e Horsley, p. 363.

Baxter, p. 11.

^f Baxter, p. 153. Camden, p. 1190.

^g Camden, p. 1190. Baxter, p. 249. Horsley, p. 378.



Lothians; since Ptolemy hath not mentioned so much as one town within their territories. It is more probable that they were but a small nation, inhabiting the most desert and mountainous parts of Tiviotdale and Northumberland. Baxter imagines their name is derived from the British word Gadaii, which signifies to fly; for which they probably had their own reasons^h.

V. The Otadeni seem to have possessed the sea-coast from the river Tyne northward to the Forth. The name of this people is so differently written, and the conjectures about its derivation are so various, that we can arrive at no certainty about itⁱ. Their towns were,

1. Curia or Coria, which is supposed to be Corbridge in Northumberland, by Camden and Baxter; but Mr. Horsley imagines it was situated much further north, most probably at Jedburgh, and suspects that it belonged to the Gadeni^k.

2. Brimenium, is undoubtedly Ruchester in Northumberland, near the head of the river Read, an altar having been found at that place with the name Bremenium upon it. Baxter derives its name from these British words, Bre man iiii, which signify a town upon a hill near a river, which is agreeable both to its situation and present name^l.

All these five British nations who inhabited the country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius, seem to have had one common name, and to have been called Mæatae; as all the British nations beyond, or to the north of the wall of Antoninus, though no fewer than twelve, were also called by the common name of Calé-

^h Camden, p. 1174. Horsley, p. 370. Baxter, p. 125.

ⁱ Horsley, p. 373. Camden, p. 1066. Baxter, p. 190.

^k Camden, p. 1085. Baxter, p. 96. Horsley, p. 367.

^l Horsley, p. 243. Camden, p. 1073. Baxter, p. 46.

No. II. donians. “The two most considerable bodies of the
 “ people of that island (says Dion, speaking of Britain),
 “ and to which almost all the rest relate, are the Cale-
 “ donians and the Maxatæ. The latter dwell near the
 “ great wall that divides the island into two parts; the
 “ others live beyond them^m.” As there was no particu-
 lar nation near either of the walls called Maxatæ, this
 was undoubtedly a general name for all the nations be-
 tween the walls; as the Caledonians comprehended all the
 nations beyond them. This country, between the walls,
 was never long together in the peaceable possession of the
 Romans; being, from time to time, disputed with them
 by the natives, with the assistance of their neighbours the
 Caledonians. This is the true reason that there were so
 few Roman towns and stations in this extensive tract,
 especially in the east side of it, except upon or near the
 walls. As this country of the five nations of the Maxatæ
 was not very much frequented by the Romans, a very
 brief illustration of Ptolemy’s description of it hath been
 thought sufficient; and as the reader hath already seen a
 more minute and particular account of the British na-
 tions who dwelt to the south of Severus’s wall, in the first
 section of the third chapter of this book, the same bre-
 vity will be observed in that part of our commentary on
 Ptolemy’s Geography of Britain, which relates to them.

VI. The Brigantes, who were, on several accounts,
 the most considerable nation of the ancient Britons,
 possessed part of Northumberland, all Durham, Cum-
 berland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshireⁿ.
 Their towns were these:

1. Epiacum, Mr. Camden imagines may have been at
 Elcheſter, on the river Derwent: Mr. Horsley rather in-
 clines for Hexham, in Northumberland: and Mr. Baxter

^m Dion. l. 76, p. 866. ⁿ See Chap. III.

supposes it was originally written *Pepiacum*, and places it at Papcastle in Cumberland^o. *Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.* No. II.

2. *Vinovium*, is universally agreed to have been at Binchester on the Vere, in the bishopric of Durham^p.

3. *Coturaſtonium*, is unquestionably Cattarick, near Richmond in Yorkshire^q.

4. *Calatum*, is placed by Horsley at Appleby, and by Baxter at Kirkbythore, in Westmorland. But both the name, and the relative situation assigned to it by Ptolemy, might incline us to place it in or near the *Galaterium nemus*, now the forest of Galters in Yorkshire^r.

5. *Ifurium*, is unquestionably Alburrow, near Burrowbridge. It probably derived its ancient name from its situation on the river Ure; and though it is now a small village, it seems to have been once the capital of the Brigantes; being called, both in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and in Ravennas, *Ifurium Brigantum*^s.

6. *Rigodunum*, is placed by Camden and Baxter at Ribchester in Lancashire; but Horsley prefers Manchester or Warrington^t.

7. *Olicana*, is agreed to have been situated at Ilkley, on the river Wharfe in Yorkshire^u.

8. *Eboracum*, is unquestionably York, a place of great renown and splendour in the Roman times. Here Ptolemy mentions the *Legio sexta Victrix*, or the sixth legion, surnamed the Victorious; implying that York was the stated head-quarters of this legion, which came into Britain in the reign of the emperor Hadrian, and continued in it till near the time of the final departure of the Romans^x.

^o Camden, p. 955. Horsley, p. 367. Baxter, p. 193.

^p Horsley, p. 378. Camden, p. 945. Baxter, p. 253.

^q Horsley, p. 399. Camden, p. 921. ^r Horsley, p. 365. Baxter, p. 59.

^s Horsley, p. 371. Camden, p. 375. Baxter, p. 141.

^t Camden, p. 974. Baxter, p. 203. Horsley, p. 375.

^u Camden, p. 867. Horsley, p. 373. Baxter, p. 187. ^x Horsley, p. 79.

No. II.

9. *Camunlodunum*, is placed, by Horsley, at *Gretland*, on the river *Calder* in *Yorkshire*; but *Camden* and *Baxter* place it near *Almonbury*, about six miles from *Halifax*, on the same river^y. At both these places Roman antiquities have been found, and there are still visible vestiges of walls and ramparts.

VII. The *Parisi* seem to have been a very small nation, inhabiting *Holdernefs*, and some other parts in the *East-riding* of *Yorkshire*, about the well-havened bay, probably, *Burlington bay*. *Mr. Baxter* thinks they were the *Ceangi*, or herdsmen, of the *Brigantes*; and that their country was called *Paür lfa*, the Low pasture; and themselves *Parise*, from *Porüys*, herdsmen^z. Their only town was,

1. *Pituaria*; about the situation of which our antiquaries are much divided in their opinions. *Mr. Baxter* thinks it should have been written *Picuaria*, expressive of the employment of its inhabitants, and places it at *Poklington*. *Mr. Horsley* mentions *Wighton* or *Brugh*, and *Mr. Camden* three other places^a. Perhaps *Patrington* in *Holdernefs* is the most probable, from the name, the situation, and other circumstances.

VIII. The *Ordovices* were the ancient inhabitants of *North Wales*^b. Their towns were,

1. *Mediolanum*, which is generally supposed to have been situated at *Maywood*, in *Montgomeryshire*; where *Mr. Baxter* says there was an ancient British town called *Caer Megion*, which was destroyed by *Edwin king* of *Northumberland*^c.

2. *Brannogenium*, is placed by *Camden* and *Baxter* at *Worcester*, supposing that some transcriber had committed

^y *Horsley*, p. 366. *Camden*, p. 855. *Baxter*, p. 62. ^z *Baxter*, p. 191.

^a *Baxter*, p. 191. *Horsley*, p. 347. *Camden*, p. 887. 891.

^b See *Chap. III.* ^c *Horsley*, p. 372. *Camden*, p. 781. *Baxter*, p. 173.

a mistake

a mistake in assigning it to the Ordovices, from whose country Worcester is too remote. Mr. Horsley places it near Ludlow, which might belong to the Ordovices^d. No. II.

IX. The Cornavii were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire; to which Mr. Horsley thinks may be added part of Derbyshire^e. Their towns were,

1. Deuna or Deonna, which is universally agreed to be West Chester. Here Ptolemy subjoins Legio vicesima Victrix, or the twentieth legion, called the Victorious; implying that this place was the stated head-quarters of that legion. This legion came into Britain in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, and was employed in the conquest of this island, and in many important works and expeditions in different parts of it. There is abundant evidence that the stated head-quarters of this legion was at West Chester, which was a place of great consideration in these times, and honoured with the privileges of a Roman colony. Though the twentieth legion continued more than two centuries in Britain, it seems to have left it a considerable time before the final departure of the Romans^f.

2. Viroconium, or Uriconium, was situated at Wroxeter in Shropshire, on the north-east side of the Severn, about three miles from Shrewsbury; which is supposed to have arisen out of the ruins of that ancient city. At Wroxeter many Roman coins have been found, and the vestiges of the walls and ramparts of Uriconium are still visible. It is highly probable that the neighbouring mountain, called the Wreken, derives its name from Uriconium^g.

^d Camden, p. 622. Baxter, p. 45. Horsley, p. 365.

^e See Chap. III. Camden, p. 598. Horsley, p. 368.

^f Camden, p. 667. Horsley, p. 83.

^g Horsley, p. 419. Baxter, p. 242. Camden, p. 653.

No. II. X. The Coritani were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire^h. But other antiquaries are of opinion, that their country was not so extensive. Their towns were,

1. Lindum, which is universally agreed to be Lincoln, which was a Roman colony, and a place of great consideration in these times. Baxter is singular, and probably wrong in his opinion, that this was the Londinium in which so many of the Romans were slain by the Britons, in their great revolt under Boadiciaⁱ.

2. Ræge, or Ratae, is acknowledged by all our antiquaries to have been situated where Leicester now stands; where several Roman antiquities have been discovered^k.

XI. The Catycuelani were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire; to which Mr. Horsley conjectures, all Huntingdonshire, and part of Northamptonshire, should be added^l. Their towns were,

1. Salenæ, which is generally supposed to have been situated at Salndy, near Biggleswade, in Bedfordshire; where several Roman antiquities have been found^m.

2. Urolanium, or Verulamium, is universally agreed to have been situated near St. Albans, and is supposed to have been the capital of Cassibelinus, which was taken by Julius Cæsar. It became a municipium, or free city, and a place of great consideration in the Roman times. The present town of St. Albans arose out of its ruinsⁿ.

XII. The Simeni, or Iceni, Mr. Camden supposes were the ancient inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge-

^h Camden, p. 511. Horsley, p. 368.

ⁱ Camden, p. 562. Horsley, p. 371. Baxter, p. 153.

^k Camden, p. 537. Horsley, p. 375. Baxter, p. 200.

^l See Chap. III. ^m Camden, p. 339. Horsley, p. 375. Baxter, p. 207.

ⁿ Camden, p. 351. Horsley, p. 378. Baxter, p. 245.

shire, and Huntingdonshire; but Mr. Horsley imagines their territories were not so extensive^o. Their town was, No. II.


Venta, which was situated at Caister upon the river Yare, about three miles from Norwich, where there are still some faint vestiges of this ancient capital of the Iceni. As Venta was the name of several British towns, such as Venta Belgarum, Venta Silurum, Venta Icenorum, our antiquaries have been at much pains to discover the derivation of that word. Mr. Baxter's conjecture seems most probable, who supposes it is derived from Wend, or Went, which signifies head or chief. For it is observable that all the towns which were named Venta, were the capitals or chief towns of the nations to whom they belonged^p.

XIII. The Trinonantes, or Trinovantes, were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Middlesex and Essex^q. But, if Ptolemy is not mistaken, their territories were not so extensive in his time, as London did not then belong to them. Their town was,

Camudolanum, which is placed, by some of our antiquaries, at Colchester; but by others, more justly at Malden; was the capital of Cunobelin, a British prince of considerable power^r. Soon after the conquest of this part of the country by the Romans, a colony, consisting chiefly of the veterans of the fourteenth legion, was planted at Camudolanum, A.D. 52; and by their wealth and industry it soon became a place of great magnificence. But its prosperity was not of long duration, for it was

^o See Chap. III. ^p Camden, p. 460. Horsley, p. 378. Baxter, p. 237.

^q Camden, p. 363. ^r Talbot, Stillingfleet, Baxter.

No. II.  quite destroyed by the Britons in their great revolt,
A.D. 61^s.

XIV. The Demetæ were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Caermarthenshire, Cardiganshire, and Pembrokeshire; to which Baxter thinks should be added, Brecknockshire and Radnorshire^t. Their towns were,

1. Luentinum, which is supposed to have been situated at or near Lhan-Dewi-Brevi, in Cardiganshire; where, in a field called *Caer Cestlib*, or *Castlefield*, Roman coins and bricks are sometimes found^u.

2. Maridunum is believed to have been situated where Caermarthen now stands^x.

XV. the Silures were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire^y. Their town was,

Bullæum, which is placed, by Camden, at Buallt in Brecknockshire; by Baxter, at *Caer Phyli* in Glamorganshire; and by Horsley at or near *Ufk* in Monmouthshire^z. A proof that its real situation is not certainly known. It is not a little surprising that Ptolemy makes no mention of *Venta Silurum*, and *Ifca Silurum*, which unquestionably belonged to the Silures, and were places of great note in the Roman times. The former of these was situated at *Caer-went*, about four miles from *Chepstow*; and the latter at *Caerleon* upon the *Ufk*, in Monmouthshire. It is still more surprising that he places the head-quarters of the second legion at *Ifca*

^s Camden, p. 415. Horsley, p. 445.

^t See Chap III. Camden, p. 743. Baxter, p. 102.

^u Camden, p. 769. Baxter, p. 159.

^x Camden, p. 744. Horsley, p. 372.

^y Camden, p. 683.

^z Camden, p. 703. Baxter, p. 56. Horsley, p. 365.

Damnoniorum, or Exeter, which were certainly at Isca No. II.
 Silurum. This is by far the greatest and most unaccountable blunder in Ptolemy's description of Britain.

XVI. The Dobuni were the ancient inhabitants of Gloucestershire, and perhaps Oxfordshire^a. Their town was,

Corinium, which is agreed to have been situated at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire^b.

XVII. The Atrebatii, according to Camden, inhabited Berkshire; but Baxter thinks that Berkshire belonged to the Bibroci, a British people mentioned by Cæsar; and that Oxfordshire was the country of the Atrebatii^c. Their town was,

Nalcua, or Calcua, which is generally agreed to have been the same with Calleva in the Itinerary. But our antiquaries are much divided in their opinions about its situation. Mr. Horsley labours to prove, from many circumstances, that it was situated at Silchester in Hampshire, but near the confines of Berkshire; while Mr. Camden, Mr. Baxter, and indeed all our other antiquaries, except Dr. Gale, place it at Wallingford in Berkshire^d. The controversy is not of such importance as to justify our swelling this short commentary with an examination of their several arguments.

XVIII. The Cantii were the ancient inhabitants of Kent, and perhaps of a part of Middlesex^e. Their towns were,

1. Londinium, since become the capital of the British empire, and one of the most famous cities in the world, for the extent and beauty of its buildings, its prodigious

^a See Chap. III. Camden, p. 267.

^b Camden, p. 284. Horsley, p. 369. Baxter, p. 89.

^c Camden, p. 159. Baxter, p. 27.

^d Horsley, p. 458. Camden, p. 163. Baxter, p. 61. ^e See Chap. III.

commerce,

No. II. commerce, and the great number and wealth of its citizens. It seems to have belonged originally to the Trinovantes, and it is not known how or when it came into the possession of the Cantii. Some even imagine that it was a mistake in Ptolemy in ascribing it to that people; or that the Londinium of his time stood on the south side of the Thames^f.

2. Daruenum, or Darvernum, is evidently Canterbury.

3. Rutupiaë, is generally believed to have been situated at Richburrow, near Sandwich; which was the usual landing-place of the Romans from the continent^g.

XIX. The Regni were the ancient inhabitants of Surrey and Suffex, and perhaps of part of Hampshire^h. Their town was,

Neomagus, or Noviomagus, which is generally placed at Woodcote in Surrey; though Mr. Baxter and some other antiquaries contend for Ravensburn in Kentⁱ.

XX. The Belgæ inhabited Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and part of Hampshire^k. Their towns were,

1. Iscales, which is generally placed at Ilchester in Somersetshire.

2. Aquæ Calidæ, is evidently the Bath in Somersetshire, which was very famous for its medicinal waters in the Roman times, as appears from the many Roman antiquities which have been there discovered^l.

3. Venta, or Venta Belgarum, is supposed, with good reason, to have been situated where the city of Winchester now stands^m.

^f Dr. Gale Itin. Ant. ^g Camden, p. 244. Horsley, p. 13. Baxter, p. 205.

^h Camden, p. 179. Horsley, p. 375.

ⁱ Camden, p. 192. Horsley, p. 373. Baxter, p. 185. Som. Ant. Cant. p. 24.

^k See Chap. III.

^l Horsley, p. 323.

^m Camden, p. 138. Horsley, p. 378.

XXI. The Durotriges were the ancient inhabitants of Dorsetshire^a. Their town was, No. II.

Dunium, which is supposed, by Camden, to have stood where Dorchester now stands. Mr. Baxter places it on the summit of an adjacent hill, where there is a ditch and bulwark, now called Maiden castle; while Mr. Horsley thinks it was situated at Eggerton-hill^o.

XXII. The Dumnonii were the ancient possessors of Devonshire and Cornwall, and, as some think, of a part of Somersetshire^p. Their towns were,

1. Voliba, which is placed, by Camden and Baxter, at Grampound; but Horsley thinks it was situated at Liffwithiell^q.

2. Uxela is supposed, by Mr. Camden, to have been situated at Liffwithiell; by Mr. Baxter, at Saltashe; and by Mr. Horsley, at Exeter. Mr. Camden's opinion seems to be most probable^r.

3. Tamare, was certainly a town upon the river Tamar. Mr. Horsley thinks it was Saltashe; but Mr. Camden and Mr. Baxter are more probably right, in supposing it to be Tamerton, which still retains its ancient name^s.

4. Isca, or Isca Damnoniorum, was most probably Exeter, and the capital of the Damnonii. Here Ptolemy subjoins Legio secunda augusta, the second legion, called the August, implying that this legion had its stated headquarters at Exeter. But this is a palpable mistake, either of Ptolemy or of his transcribers. For there is the fullest evidence that the head-quarters of this legion were long

^a See Chap. III. ^o Camden, p. 56. Baxter, p. 109. Horsley, p. 262.

^p See Chap. III. ^q Camden, p. 17. Baxter, p. 254. Horsley, p. 373.

^r Camden, p. 18. Baxter, p. 257. Horsley, p. 373.

^s Horsley, p. 376. Camden, p. 25. Baxter, p. 221.

No. II. at Ifca Silurum, or Caerleon in Monmouthshire; and no evidence that ever they were at Ifca Damnoniorum, or Exeter ^t.

Before we take our leave of this part of Ptolemy's geography, it may be proper to take notice, that he mentions only twenty-two British nations to the south of the wall of Antoninus Pius; whereas, in the first section of the third chapter of this book, twenty-five nations are said to have been seated in that part of this island. The reason of this difference seems to be, that the Bibroci, Ancalites, and Attacotti, which are mentioned by other writers, and not named by Ptolemy, were not distinct nations, but incorporated with some of their neighbours, at the time when he wrote his Geography.

As the twelve British nations of Caledonia, named by Ptolemy, and the Horesti, mentioned by Tacitus, were never subdued by the Romans, and but little known to them, it may be sufficient to refer the reader to the first section of the third chapter of this book, for an account of these nations and their towns.

^t Horsley, p. 78.

NUMBER III.

MAP of GREAT BRITAIN, according to
the Itinerary of Antoninus.

A MAP of
GREAT BRITAIN,
according to the
ITINERARY
of
ANTONINUS.

THE
ENGLISH
SEA

THE
IRISH
SEA

THE BRITISH CHANNEL



A Scale of 60 Roman Miles.
10 20 30 40 50 60

NUMBER IV.

ANTONINI ITER BRITANNIARUM.

Antoninus's Itinerary of Britain.

THIS most valuable remain of antiquity was probably No. IV.
 composed at the command of some of those Roman
 emperors who bore the name of Antoninus; though some
 additions might be made to it afterwards, when new
 military-ways were laid, and new towns and stations
 built. It seems to have been designed, in general, to
 give the Roman emperors, and their civil and military offi-
 cers, a distinct idea of the situation, extent, and principal
 places of the several provinces of that prodigious empire;
 and, in particular, to be a directory to the Roman troops
 in their marches. For it contains the names of the towns
 and stations on the several military-ways, with the num-
 ber of miles between each of these towns, and that
 which stood next to it, on the same road, at the distance
 of a day's march. It is divided into many different and
 distinct Itinera, or routs, in each province; some leading
 one way, some another; some longer, others shorter.
 That part of this work which respects Britain (with
 which alone we are at present concerned) is divided into
 fifteen of these Itinera, or routs; of each of which we shall
 give the original (and Mr. Horsley's translation) in the
 text; with a few short notes at the bottom of the page.

ITER I.

ROUT I.

A LIMITE, I. E. A
 VALLO, PRÆ-
 TORIVM US-
 QUE M. P. CLVI.
 VOL. II.

Miles.

From the limit, i. e. the
 wall, to Hebberstow
 fields, or Broughton 156
 E c

No. IV.			Miles
A ^a	BREMENIO	Riecheſter	
	CORSTOPITVM M. P. XX	Corbridge	20
b	VINDOMORA M. P. IX	Ebcheſter	9
	VINOVIA M. P. XIX	Bincheſter	19
c	CATARACTONI M. P. XXII	Cataraſt	22
d	ISVRIVM M. P. XXIV	Aldbrough	24
	EBVRACVM LEG.	York	17
	VI. VICTRIX M. P. XVII		
e	DERVENTIONE M. P. VII	On Derwent river	7

^a Though Doctor Gale, in his Commentary on the Itinerary, p. 7. placeth Bremenium at Brampton, on the river Bremish in Northumberland; and others place it at Brampton in Cumberland; yet the altar that was found at Riecheſter, near the head of the river Read, in Northumberland, with the name Bremenium upon it, is a demonstration that this was its real ſituation. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 243.

^b Both Doctor Gale and Camden have evidently miſtaken the ſituation of Vindomora; the former placing it at Dolande, within leſs than five miles of Corbridge; and the other at Walls-end, which is quite out of the way of this Iter, which proceeds from north to ſouth, along the famous military-road called Watling-ſtreet. See Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 196.

^c This Roman town and ſtation was ſituated in the fields of Thornborough, about half a mile above Cataraſt-bridge, on the ſouth ſide of the river Swale, where ſome faint veſtiges of it, and the military-ways leading to and from it, are ſtill viſible, and where many Roman coins have been found.

^d This town, in another Iter, is called Ifurum Brigantum, and was probably the capital of that powerful Britiſh nation, the Brigantes. It was unqueſtionably ſituated at Aldborough, on the river Ure, from whence Ifurum derived its ancient Britiſh and Roman name. The foundations of the ramparts may ſtill be traced.

^e This ſtation was unqueſtionably ſituated on the banks of the river Derwent, from which it derived its name, though the particular ſpot on which it ſtood cannot now be aſcertained.

APPENDIX.

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			Miles.	No. IV.
^f DELGOVITIA	M. P. XIII	Wighton	13	
^g PRÆTORIO	M. P. XXV	Hebberstow-fields, or		
		Broughton	25	

ITER II.

ROUT II.

			Miles.
A VALLO AD PORTVM RI-		From beyond the wall	
TVPAS M. P. CCCCLXXXI		to Richborough, in	
		Kent	48 ^r
^h A BLATO BVLGIO		Middleby	
ⁱ CASTRA EXPLO-		Netherby	12
RATORVM	M. P. XII		

tained. Gale, Camden, Baxter, and others, fix it at Aldby; but Mr. Horsley thinks that out of the line, and rather supposes it to have been at Kexby; though there are no vestiges of it remaining at either of these places.

^f This station is generally placed, by antiquaries, at Wighton, or at Godmanham, a village about half a mile from it.

^g Prætorium is placed, by several antiquaries, at Patrington; but Mr. Horsley, for various reasons, thinks it more probable that it stood either at Broughton, or in Hebberstow-fields, on the grand military-way now called High-street, which runs from the Humber to Lincoln. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 405, &c.

^h The tracing this very long rout, which seems to have reached from one end of the Roman territories in Britain to the other, is attended with many difficulties, which, it is probable, will never be removed. Antiquaries are divided in their opinions about the situation of Blatum Bulgium, the place where it begins; for though Camden, Gale, Baxter, and some others have fixed it at Boulness, on the south coast of Solway firth, at the end of Severus's wall, yet Mr. Horsley hath made it highly probable that it was really situated at Middleby in Annandale.

ⁱ If Blatum Bulgium was really at Middleby, every circumstance leads us to fix the Castra Exploratorum at Nether-

No. IV.			Miles.
^k LUGVALLIO	M. P. XII	Carlisle	12
^l VOREDA	M. P. XIV	Old Penrith	14
^m BROVONACIS	M. P. XIII	Kirbythure	13
VERTERIS	M. P. XIII	Brugh, under Stanemore	13
ⁿ LAVATRIS	M. P. XIV	Bowes	14
CATARACTONI	M. P. XVI	Cataract	16
ISVRIVM	M. P. XXIV	Aldborough	24
^o EBVRACVM	M. P. XVII	York	17

by, and the mote at a small distance from it. For at the former there was a famous Roman town, and at the other an exploratory camp. Both these places are at a proper distance from Blatum Bulgium on the one hand, and Luguvallium on the other, and situated on the military-way which led from the one to the other.

^k Though Dr. Gale fixes Luguvallium at Old Carlisle, yet it is on many accounts more probable that it stood where the city of Carlisle now stands.

^l Old Penrith, which was certainly the place where the Roman station Voreda stood, is situated at the north-west end of Plumptonwall, about four miles to the north of the present town of Penrith, on a noble military-way, which is there in highest preservation.

^m Dr. Gale was certainly mistaken in placing Brovonaciæ at Kendale, which is more than ten miles further from Penrith, and quite out of the course of this Iter. But the station near Kirbythure, where Roman inscriptions and other antiquities have been found, answers exactly to the situation of Brovonaciæ.

ⁿ The Roman military-way on which this and the last station were situated, is in such high preservation, the vestiges of the stations are so plain, and the distances answer so exactly, that there can be no dispute about their situation.

^o This Iter or Rout coincides with the forts from Cataract to York.

APPENDIX.

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			Miles.	No. IV.
^p CALCARIA	M. P. IX	Tadcaster	9	}
^q CAMBODVNO.	M. P. XX	Near Gretland	20	
^r MANVCIO	M. P. XVIII	Manchester	18	
^s CONDATE	M. P. XVIII	Near Northwich	18	
DEVA LEG. XX.		Chester	20	
VICT.	M. P. XX			
^u BOVIO	M. P. X	Near Stretton	10	

^p York was a place of great note in the Roman times, being a colony, the residence of the governor of the province, and sometimes even of the emperors, and the head-quarters of the sixth legion. It is no wonder, therefore, that it is so often mentioned in the Itinerary; and that so many roads led to it and from it. This Iter from York proceeds upon a different road from the first, pointing more to the west. It is a little uncertain whether Calcaria was situated at Tadcaster or at Newton-kyme. See Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 411. Camd. Brit. p. 670.

^q Cambodunum is placed by Dr. Gale and Mr. Baxter at Almonbury, where some Roman antiquities have been found; but Mr. Horsley thinks it more probable that it was near Gretland; and is also of opinion that there is an error in the numerals, which should have been xxx.

^r The Roman station Manucium, is universally agreed to have been situated near Manchester, where the vestiges of it are still visible. But Mr. Horsley thinks there is also an error here in the numerals, which he imagines were originally xxiii. The original British name of this place, Dr. Gale conjectures, was Main, which signifies a rock.

^s Though Condate hath been generally placed at Congleton, Mr. Horsley hath made it very probable that it was somewhere near Northwich.

^t Deva was unquestionably situated where the city of Chester now stands, and was a Roman colony, and the head-quarters of the twentieth legion.

^u Bovium is placed by some antiquaries at Bangor-mona-horum, by others at Boverton, and by Mr. Horsley somewhere

No. IV.

			Miles.
^x MEDIOLANVM	M. P. XX	Near Draiton	20
^y RVTVNIO	M. P. XII	Near Wem	12
^z VRIOCONIO	M. P. XI	Wroxeter	11
^a VXACONIO	M. P. XI	Near Sheriff Hales	11
^b PENNOCRVCIO	M. P. XII	Near the river Penk	12
ETOCETO	M. P. XII	Wall near Litchfield	12
^c MANDVESSEDO	M. P. XVI	Mancester	16

somewhere near Strittow. But its situation is really unknown.

^x Antiquaries are no less divided in their opinions about the situation of this station, which is in reality as little known as that of the former.


^y Camden, Gale, and Baxter, are unanimous in their opinions that Rutunium was situated at Rowton-castle; but Mr. Horsley is very positive that it was really at Wem, on the banks of the river Rodan.

^z Urioconium was certainly situated at Wroxeter, and its ancient British name Urecon is still preserved in that of a neighbouring mountain called the Wreken.

^a Dr. Gale and Mr. Camden place Uxacona at Okenyale, and Mr. Baxter at Newport; but Mr. Horsley, following the tract of the military-way, and observing the distance, fixes it at the banks of a rivulet near Sheriff Hales.

^b Though Dr. Gale is positive that this station was situated at Stretton, yet it is more probable, on several accounts, that it was seated on the banks of the river Penk, at or near the town of Penkridge.

^c All our antiquaries have agreed to place Manduessedum at Mancester, which stands on the Roman military-way called Watling-street, and where many Roman coins have been found. Camden and Gale derive its ancient British name from Maen, a rock; but Mr. Baxter derives it from Mandu Efedin, which, he says, is a family feat or city. But it was perhaps really derived from Mandu Huicci, the city or capital of the Huicci, the ancient British inhabitants of these parts.

			Miles.	No. IV.
^d VENONIS	M. P. XII	Cleycester	12	
^e BENNAVENNA	M. P. XVII	Near Daventry	17	
^f LACTODORO	M. P. XII	Towcester	12	
^g MAGIOVINTO	M. P. XVII	Fenny Stratford	17	
DVROGOBRIVIS	M. P. XII	Dunstable	12	
^h VEROLAMIO	M. P. XII	St. Albans	12	
ⁱ SVLLONIACIS	M. P. IX	Brockley hills	9	
^k LONDINIO	M. P. XII	London	12	

^d This station is supposed to have stood at or near the place where the two great military-roads, called the Fosse and Watling-street, intersected each other.

^e Though Mr. Camden, Dr. Gale, and Dr. Stukeley, have placed Bennavenna at Weedon, Mr. Horsley's reasons for fixing it at or near Daventry, seem to be satisfactory.

^f Mr. Camden and Dr. Gale have fixed Lactodorum at Stony Stratford, and imagine that its original British name was compounded of the two British words, Lach, a stone, and Dour, water. Mr. Bullet, in his Celtic Dictionary, derives this name from Lach, a stone, and Torri, to cut.

^g Mr. Horsley conjectures that the two stations, Magiovin-tum and Durocibrivæ, have been transposed by the carelessness of some transcriber, and that Durocibrivæ was at Fenny Stratford, and Magiovin-tum at Dunstable; because, in that case, the meaning of the original British names of these places will be more agreeable to their situations.

^h There is no dispute among antiquaries about the situation of Verolamium, which was unquestionably at Verulam, near St. Albans. It was a very flourishing and populous city in the Roman times, and honoured with the title and privileges of a municipium or free city.

ⁱ All our antiquaries agree in placing Sulloniacæ at Brockley-hills, where many Roman antiquities have been found. Mr. Baxter, and some others, think that this was the capital of the famous Cassivelaunus, which was taken by Julius Cæsar.

^k This great, populous, and rich city, was the capital of provincial Britain in the Roman times, and the point to which

No. IV.

			Miles.
¹ NOVIOMAGO	M. P. X	Woodcote, near Croydon	10
VAGNIACIS	M. P. XVIII	Northfleet	18
^m DVROBRIVIS	M. P. IX	Rochester	9
ⁿ DVROLEVO	M. P. XVI	Milton	16
^o DVROVERNO	M. P. XII	Canterbury	12
^p AD PORTVM RI-		Richborough	12
TVPIIS	M. P. XII		

ITER III.

ROUT III.

			Miles.
A LONDINO AD		From London to the	
PORTUM DV-		Haven at Dover	66
BRIS	M. P. LXVI		
A LONDINIO		From London	
DVROBRIVIS	M. P. XXVII	Rochester	27

no fewer than eight of these Itinera or routs of Antoninus led. The derivation of the name of this famous city will never, perhaps, be settled to universal satisfaction; but those who desire to see all the most probable conjectures of learned men about it at one view, may consult Bullet's Celtic Dictionary, tom. i. p. 349, 350.

¹ The situation of this station is very uncertain; but Camden, Gale, and Horsley, have agreed in placing it at Woodcote.

^m All our antiquaries have, on good grounds, agreed in fixing Durobrivæ at Rochester; and in deriving its ancient British name from Dur, a river, and Briv, a town.

ⁿ The situation of this station is quite uncertain, and Mr. Horsley seems to be singular in placing it at Milton.

^o There is no dispute about the situation of this station; and Mr Baxter derives its ancient name from Dur, a river, and Vern, a sanctuary.

^p This long rout terminates at Richborough, where the Romans commonly embarked for the continent, as we do now from Dover.

APPENDIX.

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DVROVERNO	M. P. XXV	Canterbury	Miles. 25	No. IV.
AD PORTVM		Dover	14	
DVBRIS	M. P. XIV			

ITER IV.

ROUT IV.

A LONDINO AD		From London to the	Miles.	
PORTVM LE-		Haven at Lime	68	
MANIS	M. P. LXVIII			
A LONDINO		From London		
DVROBRIVIS	M. P. XXVII	Rocheſter	27	
DVROVERNO	M. P. XXV	Canterbury	25	
AD PORTVM		Lime, near Weſt-		
LEMANIS	M. P. XVI	hyth	16	

ITER V.

ROUT V.

A LONDINO LVGV-		From London to Car-	Miles.	
VALLIUM AD VAL-		liſle, near the wall	443	
LVM	M. P. CCCCXLIII			
A LONDINO		From London		

¶ There is no diſpute or uncertainty about the ſituation of any of the ſtations in this ſhort rout. It may be proper, however, to take notice that the ſtations of Noviomagus and Vagniacæ, between London and Rocheſter, and of Durolevum, between Rocheſter and Canterbury, are not mentioned in this rout: this makes it probable that theſe three ſtations had been ſlighted by the Romans, when this rout was compoſed; which is probably the reaſon that no certain veſtiges of them can be diſcovered.

¶ All the ſtations in this ſhort rout have been mentioned before, and are perfectly well known, except the laſt. Lemanæ is generally ſuppoſed to have been the ſame place which is called *Καὶνὸς Λιμὴν*, the New Port, by Ptolemy, and to have been ſituated at or near the village of Lime, about a mile beyond Studfal-caſtle. It was a haven in the Roman times.

No. IV.

			Miles.
¹ CESAROMAGO	M. P. XXVIII	Near Chelmsford, or Writtle	28
² COLONIA	M. P. XXIV	Colchester	24
³ VILLA FAV- STINI	M. P. XXXV	Dunmow	35 al. 25
	AL. XXV		
⁴ ICIANOS	M. P. XVIII	Chesterford	18
⁵ CAMBORICO	M. P. XXXV	Icklingham	35
⁶ DVROLIPONTE	M. P. XXV	Cambridge	25
⁷ DVROBRIVIS	M. P. XXXV	Castor	35

¹ Notwithstanding the pompous name of this station (Cæsar's feat), its very ruins are now so entirely ruined, that its exact situation cannot be discovered; but by the distance from London, and the direction of the road on which this rout proceeds, it must have been at or near Chelmsford.

² Though our antiquaries are divided in their opinions about the situation of Colonia, it seems, upon the whole, to be most probable, that it was at Colchester, on the river Colne, from which it derived its name.

³ Villa Faustini is placed, by Camden, Gale, and Baxter, at St. Edmond's-bury, in Suffolk; but Mr. Horsley prefers those copies of the Itinerary which have xxv for the numerals, and fixes it at Dunmow. Wherever it was situated, it probably derived its name Villa Faustini, from some great Roman called Faustinus having a country-seat there.

⁴ This station is placed by Camden, Gale, and Baxter, at Ichburrow in Norfolk, but Mr. Horsley fixes it at a large fortified piece of ground between Chesterford and Icklinton, in Cambridgeshire.

⁵ All our antiquaries, except Mr. Horsley, place Camboricum near Cambridge, at a place called, by Bede, Grantcester; and derive its name from Cam, crooked, and Brit, a ford.

⁶ Those antiquaries, who place Camboricum at Cambridge, fix Durolipons at Godmanchester.

⁷ Dr. Gale fixes Durobrivæ at Bridge Casterton, two miles north from Stamford; but Camden, Baxter, and Horsley, place

			Miles.	No. IV.
^b CAUSENNIS	M. P. XXX	Ancaster	30	}
^c LINDO	M. P. XXVI	Lincoln	26	
^d SEGELOCI	M. P. XIV	Littleborough	14	
^e DANO	M. P. XXI	Doncaster	21	
LEGEOLIO	M. P. XVI	Casterton	16	
EBORACO	M. P. XXI	York	21	
ISVBRIGANTVM	M. P. XVII	Aldbrough	17	
CATARACTONI	M. P. XXIV	Cataraft	24	
LAVATRIS	M. P. XVIII	Bowes	18	
VERTERIS	M. P. XIII	Brugh	13	
BROCAVO	M. P. XX	Brougham-castle	20	
LVGOVALLIO	M. P. XXII	Carlisle	22	

place it at Castor, upon the river Nen, or rather at the village of Dornford, near Castor, where many Roman coins and other antiquities have been found.

^b Dr. Gale supposes that *Causennæ* was situated where Nottingham now stands; but Mr. Horsley fixes it at Ancaster. He is sensible that this will not correspond with the distances in the Itinerary as they now stand, and therefore supposes that the transcribers had committed a mistake in the numerals, which should have been xxxvi opposite to *Causennis*, and xx opposite to *Lindo*.

^c There is no dispute about the situation of this station which was a Roman colony, and a place of great note.

^d All our antiquaries agree in placing *Segelocum*, which is called *Agelocum* in the eighth Iter, at Littleborough, where Roman coins, altars, and other antiquities have been found.

^e As there is no dispute among our antiquaries about the situation of this and the following stations in this Iter, it is unnecessary to detain the reader with any further remarks upon it.

No. IV.

ITER VI.

ROUT VI.

		From London to Lin-	Miles.
A LONDINIO LIN-	M. P. CLVI	coln	156
DVM			
A LONDINIO		From London	
VEROLAMIO	M. P. XXI	St. Albans	21
DVROCOBRIO	M. P. XII	Dunstable	12
MAGIOVINIO	M. P. XII	Fenny Stratford	12
LACTODORO	M. P. XVI	Towcester	16
^f ISANAVATIA	M. P. XII	Near Daventry	12
^g TRIPONTIO	M. P. XII	Rugby	12
VENONIS	M. P. IX	Cleycester	9
^h RATIS	M. P. XII	Leicester	12
ⁱ VEROMETO	M. P. XIII	Near Willoughby	13
^k MARGIDVNO	M. P. XIII	Near East Bridgeford	13

^f These six stations were explained in the second Iter.

^g Drs. Gale and Stukeley place Tripontium at Dowbridge; and the last of these authors derives its name from Tre, a town, and Pant, a little valley, in which Dowbridge is situated. Camden and Baxter fix Tripontium at Torcester, and Camden derives its name from the British words Tair-ponti, which signifies three bridges. But Mr. Horsley supposes it to have been situated where the town of Rugby now stands.

^h This Iter leaves Watling-street at Cleycester, and proceeds from thence to Lincoln, on the Fosseway: Ratæ is placed by all our antiquaries at Leicester, where many Roman antiquities have been found, and particularly described by Camden, Stukeley, and others.

ⁱ The vestiges of this station are distinctly described by Dr. Stukeley, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 102, 103.

^k The name of the next station, Ad Pontem, hath determined Dr. Stukeley and some other antiquaries, to place it at Bridgeford. But Mr. Horsley, following the course of the Fosseway, and observing the distances, fixes Margidunum here, and Ad Pontem at another.

			Miles.	No. IV.
¹ AD PONTEM	M. P. VII	Near Southwell	7	<u>7</u>
^m CROCOCOLANA	M. P. VII	Brugh, near Collingham	7	
LINDO	M. P. XII	Lincoln	12	

ITER VII.

ROUT VII.

		From Chichester to	Miles.
A ⁿ REGNO LON-		London	96
DINIVM	M. P. XCVI	Old Southampton	20
CLAVSENTO	M. P. XX	Winchester	10
^o VENTA BELGA-		Silchester	22
RVVM	M. P. X		
P CALLEVA ATRE-			
BATVM	M. P. XXII		

¹ The distance and direction of the road, rather than any vestiges of a station, determined Mr. Horsley to fix Ad Pontem at this place; and he supposes that the neighbouring town of Newark arose out of the ruins of this station.

^m The vestiges of this station, which are very faint, are described by Dr. Stukeley, in his Itinerary, p. 98, 99.

^a Mr. Camden, Dr. Gale, Mr. Baxter, and others, are unanimous in fixing Regnum, the capital of the Regni, at Ringwood; but Mr. Horsley hath produced several reasons for supposing it to have been situated where Chichester now stands.

^o There is no dispute among our antiquaries about the situation of this station. It was the capital of the Belgæ. For the word Venta, which is joined to the name of several of the ancient British nations, to denote the capital of these nations, is derived by Mr. Baxter from the old British word Wënt, head or chief.

^p Dr. Stukeley hath produced several arguments for placing Calleva at Farnham, in his Itinerary, p. 196; and Mr. Horsley hath given his reasons for fixing it at Silchester, in his Britan. Roman. p. 458.

No. IV.

^q PONTIEVS	M. P. XXII	Near Old Windfor	Miles. 22
LONDINIO	M. P. XXII	London	22

ITER VIII.

ROUT VIII.

AB EBVRACO LON-		From York to Lon-	Miles.
DINIVM	M. P. CCXXVII	don	227
AB EBVRACO		From York	
LAGECIO	M. P. XXI	Castleford	21
DANO	M. P. XVI	Doncaster	16
AGELOCO	M. P. XXI	Littleborough	21
LINDO	M. P. XIV	Lincoln	14
CROCOCOLANA	M. P. XIV	Brugh, near Colingham	14
MARGIDVNA	M. P. XIV	Near East Bridgeford	14
VERNOMETA	M. P. XII	Near Willoughby	12
RATIS	M. P. XII	Leicester	12
VENONIS	M. P. XII	Cleycester	12
BANNAVANTO	M. P. XVIII	Near Daventry	18
MAGIOVINTO	M. P. XXVIII	Fenny Stratford	28
DVROCOBRIVIS	M. P. XII	Dunstable	12
VEROLAMIO	M. P. XII	St. Albans	12
^r LONDINIO	M. P. XXI	London	21

ITER IX.

ROUT IX.

A VENTA ICENORVM LON-		From Caister, near	Miles.
DINIVM	M. P. CXXVIII	Norwich, to Lon-	
		don	128
^o A VENTA ICENORVM		From Caister	


^q Some of our antiquaries place this station at Colebrook, others at Reading, and others at Staines.

^r All the stations in this rout have been mentioned in some of the former.

^s Venta Icenorum was probably the capital of the Iceni, and is generally supposed, by our antiquaries to have been

APPENDIX.

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			Miles.	No. IV.
¹ SITOMAGO	M. P. XXXI	Wulpit	31	
² CAMBRETONIO	M. P. XXII	Stretford	22	
³ AD ANSAM	M. P. XV	Witham	15	
⁴ CAMVLODVNO	M. P. VI	Maldon	6	
⁵ CANONIO	M. P. IX	Fambridge	9	
CÆSAROMAGO	M. P. XII	Near Chelmsford	12	
⁶ DVROLITO	M. P. XVI	Leaton	16	
	AL. XXVI			
LONDINIO	M. P. XVI	London	16	

situated at Caister, about three miles from Norwich, which is believed to have arisen out of the ruins of this ancient city.

¹ Mr. Camden supposes this station was at Thetford, but Dr. Gale and Mr. Horsley agree in fixing it at Wulpit.

² Mr. Camden and Dr. Gale fix this station at Bretonham, on the river Breton; but Mr. Horsley thinks the distance suits better with Stretford, near the confluence of the Breton and the Stowr.

³ Our antiquaries have made a variety of conjectures about the reason and derivation of the name of this station, which are all uncertain. Dr. Gale supposes it was situated at Barklow, near the source of the river Pant, and imagines that the real name of the station was Ad Pansam. But Camden and Horsley have fixed it at Witham.

⁴ Though Camulodunum had been the capital of the great British king Cunobeline, the first Roman colony in this island, and a place of great magnificence; yet it is now so entirely ruined, that our antiquaries are much divided in their opinions about the place where it was situated. Dr. Gale contends earnestly for Walden; Talbot, Stillingfleet, and Baxter, are as positive for Colchester; while Camden, Horsley, and others plead for Maldon.

⁵ Mr. Camden hath placed this station at Chelmsford, and Dr. Gale hath fixed it at Little Canfield.

⁶ It is imagined that the transcribers have here committed a mistake in the numerals, which should have been xxvi opposite to Durolito, and v opposite to Londinio.

No. IV.

ITER X.

ROUT X.

			Miles.
A GLANOVENTO	M. P. CL	From Lanchester, in the county of Durham, to the station near Draiton, on the borders of Shropshire	150
NVM			
^b A GLANOVENTO		From Lanchester	
GALAVA	M. P. XVIII	Old-Town	18
	AL. XXVIII		
ALONE	M. P. XII	Whitley-castle	12
GALACVM	M. P. XIX	Appleby	19
BREMETONACIS	M. P. XXVII	Overborough	27
	AL. XXXII		
COCCIO	M. P. XX	Ribchester	20
	AL. XXV		
MANCVNIO	M. P. XVII	Manchester	17
	AL. XXVII		
CONDATE	M. P. XVIII	Near Northwich	18
MEDIOLANO	M. P. XVIII	Near Draiton	18
	AL. XXVIII		

ITER XI.

ROUT XI.

			Miles.
A ^c SEGONTIO	DEVAM	From Caernarvon to Chester	83
	M. P. LXXXIII		

^b This is the most difficult and perplexing rout of any in the Itinerary, and there are hardly any two of our antiquaries agreed about the beginning, end, or course of it. In this perplexity we have chosen Mr. Horsley for our guide; and refer such of our readers as have a taste for inquiries of this kind, to his notes upon it in his Brit. Rom. p. 448, &c.

^c Nothing can be more certain than this; that the transcribers of the Itinerary have committed several mistakes in the

			Miles.	No. IV.
A SEGONTIO		From Caernarvon		
CONOVIO	M. P. XXIV	Caer Rhyn	24	
VARIS	M. P. XIX	Bodvay	19	
	AL. XXI			
DEVA	M. P. XXXII	Chester	32	
	AL. XXI			

ITER XII.

ROUT XII.

			Miles.
A ^d CALEVA MVRIDVNVM		From Silchester, by	
VRICONIVM		Egerton, to Wrox-	
	M. P. CLXXXVI	ter	186
* CALEVA		From Silchester	
f VINDOMI	M. P. XV	Farnham	15

the numerals. For in many of these routs the sum total of the miles prefixed, differs from the real amount of the particulars. Even in this short one, the difference between the sum prefixed (83) and the real amount of the particulars (75) is no less than eight; and Mr Horsley thinks both numbers are wrong, and that the whole length of this rout was no more than 67 miles.

^d This rout from Silchester, near Reading, to Wroxeter, takes a prodigious compass to Muridunum, which is the reason that station is mentioned in the title of it. The sum prefixed to this rout differs no less than 104 from the real amount of the particulars.

* Though Mr. Horsley is singular in his opinion that Caleva was situated at Silchester, yet the arguments which he hath brought in support of that opinion, seem to amount almost to a demonstration.

^f If Mr. Horsley is right in placing Caleva at Silchester, he is probably right also in placing Vindomis at Farnham, though contrary to the general opinion. It is impossible for us, at this distance of time, to discover what engaged the Romans to make such sudden turns, and such long excursions in several of these routs. In the seventh rout it is only 22 miles from

No. IV.			Miles.
{	VENTA BELGA-	Winchester	21
	RVM M. P. XXI		
{	BRIGE	Broughton	11
	AL. IX		
{	SORBIODVNO	Old Sarum	9
	AL. XI		
{	VINDOCLADIA	Near Cranburn	13
	M. P. XIII		
{	DVRNOVARIA	Dorchester	8
	M. P. VIII		
{	AL. XXXVI		
	MVRIDVNO	Near Eggerton	36
{	M. P. XXXVI		
	AL. VIII		
{	SCADVM NVN-	Near Chifelborough	15
	NIORVM M. P. XV		

Caleva to Venta Belgarum ; but in this one, making a compass by Vindomis, it is no fewer than 36 miles.

§ Dr. Stukeley traced the Roman road all the way from Old Sarum, for 13 miles, to near Boroſton, where he places Vindocladia. See *Itin. Curioſ.* p. 180.

h All our antiquaries agree in fixing Durnovaria at Dorchester, where many Roman antiquities have been found, and the vestiges of the Roman walls of the city, and of an amphitheatre without them, are still visible, and have been described by Dr. Stukeley, *Itin. Curioſ.* p. 150, &c. Mr. Horsley very reasonably supposes that the numerals have been transposed by the carelessness of some transcriber ; and that xxx should have been set opposite to Durnovaria, and viii opposite to Muriduno.

i Camden, Gale, and Stukeley place this station at Seaton, and Baxter fixes it at Topisham.

k Scadum Nunniorum is unquestionably a mistake of the transcriber for Iſa Dumnoniorum, which hath been placed by all our other antiquaries at Exeter ; but Mr. Horsley gives his reasons for differing from them in his *Brit. Rom.* p. 462, 463.

APPENDIX.

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			Miles.	No. IV.
ⁱ LEVCARO	M. P. XV	Near Glastenbury	15	<u> </u>
^m BOMIO	M. P. XV	Near Axbridge	15	
^a NIDO	M. P. XV	Near Portbury	15	
^o ISCALEGVA AV-		Caerleon	15	
GVSTA	M. P. XV			
BVRRIO	M. P. IX	Urk	9	
GOBANNIO	M. P. XII	Abergavenny	12	
MAGNIS	M. P. XXII	Kenchester	22	
^p BRAVINIO	M. P. XXIV	Ludlow	24	
VRIOCONIO	M. P. XXVII	Wroxeter	27	

ITER XIII.

ROUT XIII.

		Miles.
AB ISCA CALEVAM	From Caerleon to Sil-	
M. P. CIX	chester	109


ⁱ Camden, Gale, and Baxter imagine that Leucarum was situated where the village of Lohor now stands, on the banks of the river Lohor, in Glamorganshire; which seems to be at far too great a distance.

^m This station is placed by Camden and Gale at Boverton, in Glamorganshire.

ⁿ Nidum is fixed by Camden, Gale, and Baxter, at Ncath, in Glamorganshire. It must be confessed that the real course of this rout from Muridunum to Iscalegua Augusta, is very uncertain.

^o This should certainly have been written Ifa Leg. II. Augusta; which all our antiquaries agree was situated at Caerleon (the city of the legion) upon Urk, which was a place of great magnificence in the Roman times, and the headquarters of the second legion, called Augusta.

^p Mr. Horsley differs from our other antiquaries concerning the situation of this and the preceding station, but he hath given very strong reasons in support of his opinion. See Brit. Rom. p. 465, 466.

No. IV.			From Caerleon	Miles.
	¹ AB ISCA			
	BVRRIO	M. P. IX	Usk	9
	² BLESTIO	M. P. XI	Monmouth	11
	³ ARICONIO	M. P. XI	Near Ross	11
	CLIVO	M. P. XV	Gloucester	15
	⁴ DVROCORNO-		Cirencester	14
	VIO	M. P. XIV		
	⁵ SPINIS	M. P. XV	Speen	15
	CALLEVA	M. P. XV	Silchester	15

¹ The sum total of the miles prefixed to this rout, which is 109, differs no less than 19 from the sum of the particulars, which is 90. This is a demonstration that there is an error in the numerals. Dr. Stukeley imagines that a station, viz. Cunetio (Marlborough), with the numerals xix, hath been left out between Durocornovium and Spinæ.

² Mr. Camden, Drs. Gale and Stukeley, have placed this station at Old-town in Herefordshire.

³ Ariconium is placed, by all our other antiquaries, at Kenchester. But this appears to be at too great a distance, and out of the course of this Iter.

⁴ As this distance between Clevum and Durocornovium is too small, Dr. Stukeley thinks the numerals were originally xix.

⁵ There is sufficient evidence that Spinæ was situated at Speen. But as xv is much too small a number of miles for the distance between Cirencester and Speen, we may either suppose with Dr. Stukeley, that there is a station omitted between these two places; or, with Mr. Horsley, that the numerals opposite to Spinis should have been xxv.

ITER XIV.

ROUT XIV.

No. IV.

		Miles.	
¹ ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB		From Caerleon to Sil-	
ISCA CALLEVAM		chester, by another	
	M. P. CIII	way	103
AB ISCA		From Caerleon	
² VENTA SILVRVM	M. P. IX	Caergwent	9
ABONE	M. P. IX	Aunshbury	9
³ TRAJECTVS	M. P. IX	Henham	9
⁴ AQUIS SOLIS	M. P. VI	Bath	6
⁵ VERLVCIONE	M. P. XV	Near Leckham	15
CUNELIONE	M. P. XX	Marlborough	20

* As this and the former rout lead from and to the same places, it is highly probable, that by the former the Romans designed to pass the Severn by a bridge at Gloucester; and by this over a ferry lower down.

¹ This was probably the capital of the Silures, one of the bravest of the ancient British nations.

² Our antiquaries are generally of opinion that Trajectus should have been placed before Adone; and that it was situated at Oldbury, where they suppose there was a ferry over the Severn; but Mr. Horsley imagines that Trajectus was situated at the passage over the Avon, near Henham.

⁴ Aquæ Solis was unquestionably Bath, which was much frequented by the Romans for its warm and medicinal springs.

⁵ Verlucio is placed by Dr. Gale at Westbury, and by Dr. Stukeley at Hedington; but Mr. Horsley, following the course of the military way from Bath to Marlborough, and the distances from both these places, thinks it more probable that it was situated near Leckham, or at Silverfield, near Lacock, where great quantities of Roman money have been found.

No. IV.			Miles.
c	SPINIS	M. P. XV.	Spleen
		AL. XX	15
	CALLEVA	M. P. XV	Silchester
			15

ITER XV.

ROUT XV.

			Miles.
A CALLEVI ISCAM DVM-		From Silchester to Chi-	
NONIORVM M. P. CXXXVI		felborough	136
A CALLEVA		From Silchester	
VINDOMI M. P. XV		Farnham	15
VENTA BELGA		Winchester	25
RVM M. P. XXI			
BRIGE M. P. XI.		Broughton	11
SORBIODVNI M. P. VIII		Old Sarum	8
VINDOCLADIA M. P. XII		Near Cranburn	12
DVRNOVARIA M. P. IX		Dorchester	9
M RIDVNO M. P. XXXVI		Eggerton	36
d ISCA DVMNO-		Chiselmorh	15
NIORVM M. P. XV			

c The sum total prefixed to this Iter is 103, but the sum of the particulars amounts only to 98, which is five miles less. Mr. Stukeley imagines that the numerals xx were originally set opposite to Spinis, which reconciles the sums to each other, and both to truth.

d All the stations in this rout have been mentioned in some of the former.

THE
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NUMBER V.

No. V.

MAP of BRITAIN, *according to the*
Notitia Imperii.

NUMBER VI.

The NOTITIA IMPERII, as far as it relates
to Britain, with a Translation and Notes.

SOME of the most active of the Roman emperors were at great pains to gain a distinct knowledge of the several provinces of their wide-extended empire; that they might be enabled to improve, protect, and govern them in the best manner; and also that they might know how to draw from them the greatest advantages they were capable of yielding. Augustus composed a volume, which he committed, together with his last will, to the custody of the Vestal Virgins, containing a brief description of the whole Roman empire; its kingdoms, provinces, fleets, armies, treasures, taxes, tributes, expences, and every other thing which it was necessary or proper for a prince to know^a. Hadrian was at still greater pains to make himself thoroughly acquainted with his dominions; for with this view, amongst others, he visited in person every province, and even every considerable city of the empire; taking a particular account

No. VI.

^a Sueton. in Octavio, c. 101. Dion, l. 56. p. 591.

No. VI. of the fleets, armies, taxes, cities, walls, ramparts, ditches, arms, machines, and every other thing worthy of attention^b. If the Memoirs of this imperial traveller were now extant, they would present us with an entertaining view of the state of our country in that early period. But these, together with the volume of Augustus, and probably many others of the same nature, are entirely lost. Some few works, however, on this subject, have escaped the devastations of time, and the no less destructive ravages of barbarians. Of this kind are the Itinerary of Antoninus, already explained, and that which is commonly called the Notitia, which we are now to illustrate.

The title, at full length, of this valuable monument of antiquity runs thus—*Notitia utraque dignitatem cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique tempora*. The contents of it are suitable enough to this title, being lists of the governors of the several provinces, with the civil officers which composed their courts and executed their commands; and also of the chief military officers in these provinces, the troops which they had under them, and the places where they were stationed. The author, or rather the compiler of this work, is not known. There might, perhaps, be some particular officer at the imperial court, whose duty it was to compile such a register, for the use of the Emperor and his ministers, out of the returns which were sent from the provinces. The precise time in which it was written cannot be ascertained. The very title of it bears, that it reached below the times of Arcadius and Honorius, who reigned jointly in the beginning of the fifth century, and of whom the last died A. D. 425; and the contents of it shew, that those sections of it which relate to Britain, were

^b Dion, l. 69. p. 792.

written before the final departure of the Romans out of this island. To give the reader as distinct ideas as possible of the information contained in this work, concerning the state of his country in that period, the several sections of it which relate to Britain are here given in the original, with a translation on the opposite page. To this is subjoined a short commentary, explaining such words and things as would not be fully understood by many readers without an explanation.

No VI.

§ SUB dispositione viri spectabilis ^a vicarii Britanniarum :

^b Consulares,
 ^c Maximæ Cæsariensis,
 Valentiæ ;

Præsidēs,
 Britanniæ primæ,
 Britanniæ secundæ,
 Flaviæ Cæsariensis.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis hoc modo :

^d Principem de schola agentum in rebus ex ducenariis,

Cornicularium,
 Numerarios duos,
 ^e Commentariensem,
 Ab actis,
 Curam epistolarum,
 Adjutorem,
 Subadjuvas,
 ^f Exceptores,
 Singulares et reliquos officiales.

NOTES on Section XLIX.

^a The vicarii, in the lower empire, were officers of state next in dignity and power to the præfecti prætorio. The vicar of Britain had the chief authority over all the five provinces of Britain, under the præfect of Gaul.

^b Consulars under the lower empire, were of two kinds ; viz. such as had actually been consuls ; or such as had the title and privileges of consuls conferred upon them by the emperors, though they had never enjoyed the high office of the consulship. Vid. Cod. Justin. l. 12. t. 3. l. 4.

SECTION XLIX.

No. VI.

UNDER the government of the honourable the vicegerent of Britain are :

Consular governments of those parts of Britain, called
 Maxima Cæsariensis,
 Valentia ;

Prefidial governors of those parts of Britain, called
 Britannia prima,
 Britannia secunda,
 Flavia Cæsariensis.

This honourable vicegerent hath his court composed in this manner :

A principal officer of the agents, chosen out of the du-
 cenarii, or under-officers,

A principal clerk or secretary,

Two chief accountants or auditors,

A master of the prisons,

A notary,

A secretary for dispatches,

An assistant or surrogate,

Under assistants,

Clerks for appeals,

Serjeants and other inferior officers.

^c See the situation and extent of the five provinces into which the Roman territories in Britain were divided, in the third section of the third chapter. The two most northerly provinces were governed by consulars, as being most exposed to danger.

^d Under the lower empire there were many incorporated bodies of men of different professions ; and these incorporated bodies were called Scholæ. Vide Cod. Justin. l. 12. t. 20.

^e The master of the prisons was called commentariensis, from his keeping an exact calendar of all the prisoners in all the prisons under his inspection.

^f The exceptores were a particular order of clerks or notaries, who recorded the proceedings and sentences of the judges upon appeals.

SECTIO LII.

No. VI. ^a SUB dispositione viri spectabilis comitis littoris Saxo-
nici per Britanniam :

Præpositus ^b numeri Fortensium Othonæ,
Præpositus militum Tungricanorum Dubris,
Præpositus numeri Turnacensium Lemannis,

Præpositus equitum Dalmatarum Branodunensis, Bra-
noduno,

Præpositus equitum Stablelian. Garionnonensis, Ga-
rionnono,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Vetasiorum, Regulbio,
Præpositus legionis secundæ Augustæ, Rutupis,

Præpositus numeri Abulcorum, Anderidæ,
Præpositus numeri exploratorum, ^c portu Adurni.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis comes hoc modo:

Principem ex officio magistri præsentialium a parte
peditum,

Numerarios duos, ut supra, ex officio supradictò,

Commentariensem ex officio supradictò,

Cornicularium,

Adjutorem,

Subadjuvam,

^d Regerendarium,

Exceptores,

Singulares, et reliquos officiales.

NOTES on Section LII.

^a For a description of the office of the count of the Saxon shore, see chap. 3. sect. 3.

^b These numeri were probably either detachments or independent companies.

SECTION LI.

UNDER the government of the honourable the No. VI.
count of the Saxon shore in Britain: }

The commander of a detachment of Fortensis at Othona,

The commander of the Tungrian soldiers at Dover,

The commander of a detachment of soldiers of Tournay
at Lime,

The commander of the Dalmatian horse, styled Brano-
dunensis, at Brancafter,

The commander of the Stablelian horse, styled Garion-
nonensis, at Borough-castle,

The tribune of the first cohort of Vetasians at Reculver,

The commander of the second legion, called Augusta,
at Richborough,

The commander of a detachment of the Abulciat Anderida,

The commander of a detachment of scouts at Portsmouth.

This honourable count hath his court composed in this
manner:

A principal officer from the court of the general of foot
in ordinary attendance,

Two auditors, as above, from the above-mentioned court,

A master of the prisons, from the same court,

A clerk or secretary,

An assistant,

An under-assistant,

A register,

Clerks of appeals,

Serjeants, and under-officers.

^c For an account of these nine stations, which were under the
command of the count of the Saxon shore, see chap. 3. sect. 3.

^d The regerendarius was so called from the verb regerere,
which expressed his office of collecting writings, and copying
them into registers for their preservation.

SUB dispositione viri spectabilis ^a comitis Britanniarum:

Provincia Britannia.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis comes hoc modo:

Principem ex officio magistri militum. præsentium
alternis annis,

Commentariensem, ut supra,

Numerarios duos singulos ex utroque officio supradicto,

Adjutorem,

Subadjuvam,

Exceptores,

Singulares, et reliquos officiales.

NOTE on Section LIII.

^a For a description of the office of the count of Britain, see chap. 3. sect. 3. When this section of the Notitia was written, it seems probable that the forces which had been formerly under the command of the count of Britain, and garrisoned the stations and forts in the interior parts of the province, were withdrawn, as no longer necessary. These forces, however, are mentioned in section 40, and were as follows:

Victores juniores Britannici

Primani juniores

Secundani juniores

Equites cataphractarii juniores

Equites Scutarii Aureliaci

Equites Honoriani seniores

Equites Stablefiani

Equites Syri

Equites Taifali.

SECTION LIII.

No. VI.

UNDER the government of the honourable the count
of Britain :

The province of Britain.

This honourable count hath his court composed in this
manner :

A principal officer from the court of the general of the
foldiers, in ordinary attendants, changed every year,

The master of the prisons, as above,

Two auditors, one from each court above-mentioned,

An assistant,

An under-assistant,

Clerks of appeals,

Serjeants and under-officers.

SECTIO LXIII.

No VI. SUB dispositione viri spectabilis ^a ducis Britanniarum :

^b Præfectus legionis sextæ,
 Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum ^c Præsidio,
 Præfectus equitum Crispianorum Dano,
 Præfectus equitum Cataphractariorum ^d Morbio,
 Præfectus numeri Barcariorum Tigrisensium ^e Arbeia,

Præfectus numeri Nerviorum Dictensium ^f Dicti,

Præfectus numeri vigilum ^g Concangio,
 Præfectus numeri exploratorum Lavatris,
 Præfectus numeri directorum Verteris,
 Præfectus numeri defensorum ^h Braboniaco,

NOTES on Section LXIII.


^a For an account of the office of the duke of Britain, see chap. 3. sect. 3.

^b The head quarters of the sixth legion was so well known to be at Eboracum (York), that it was not thought necessary to name it in the Notitia.

^c Præsidium is a Notitia station which is not mentioned (at least by that name) in the Itinerary of Antoninus. Both Camden and Baxter place it at Warwick, but Mr. Horsley thinks it was nearer York, and fixes it at Broughton in Lincolnshire; supposing it the same with Prætorium in the Itinerary.

^d Morbium is neither named in Ptolemy's Geography nor the Itinerary. Both Camden and Baxter suppose it was at Morelby; but Mr. Horsley thinks this too distant from

SECTION LXIII.

UNDER the government of the honourable the duke No. VI.
of Britain : 

The prefect of the sixth legion,
The prefect of the Dalmatian horse at Broughton,
The prefect of the Crispian horse at Doncaster,
The prefect of the Cuirassiers at Templeburg,
The prefect of a detachment of the Borcarii Tigresenses at Moresby,
The prefect of a detachment of the Nervii Dictenses at Ambleside,
The prefect of a detachment of watchmen at Kendal,
The prefect of a detachment of scouts at Bowes,
The prefect of a detachment of Directores at Brugh,
The prefect of a detachment of Defensores at Overborough,

from York and Doncaster, and fixes it at Templeburgh in Yorkshire, where there are large vestiges of a Roman station.

^e Arbeia is a station only mentioned in the Notitia. Mr. Camden and Baxter place it at Iceby in Cumberland, but Mr. Horsley thinks it was at Moresby.

^f Dicti is a Notitia station, and is, by the general consent of antiquaries, supposed to have been situated at Ambleside in Westmoreland, where the ruins of a Roman station are still visible.

^g Concangium is another station not mentioned in the Itinerary, and is generally believed to have been situated at Watercrock, near Kendal, where there are visible remains of a station, and Roman antiquities have been found.

^h Braboniacum is supposed by Mr. Horsley to be the same with Bremetoneæ in the Itinerary.

No. VI.

Præfectus numeri Solensium ¹ Maglove,

Præfectus numeri Pacensium ² Magis,

Præfectus numeri Longovicariorum Longovico,

Præfectus numeri Dervationensis Dervatione.

¹ Item per lineam valli :

Tribunus cohortis quartæ Lergorum Segeduno,

Tribunus cohortis Cornoviorum Ponte Ælii,

Præfectus alæ primæ Astorum Conderco,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Frixagorum Vindobala,

Præfectus alæ Savinianæ Hunno,

Præfectus alæ secundæ Astorum Cilurno,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Batavorum Procolitia,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Tungrorum Borcovico,

Tribunus cohortis quartæ Gallorum Vindolana,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Astorum Ælica,

Tribunus cohortis secundæ Dalmatarum Magnis,

¹ Maglove is another Notitia station, which Mr. Baxter places at Ravenglas, but Mr. Horsley, with better reason, at Gretabridge.

² Mr. Camden supposes the Mages, in the Notitia, to be the

The prefect of a detachment of Solenses at Greta-
bridge,

The prefect of a detachment of Pacenses at Pierce-
bridge,

The prefect of a detachment of Longovicarii at Lan-
caster,

The prefect of a detachment of Derventionensis on the
Derwent.

Also along the line of the wall :

The Tribune of the fourth cohort of the Largi at Cou-
sinhouse,

The tribune of a cohort of the Cornovii at Newcastle,

The prefect of the first wing of the Asti at Benwell-hill,

The tribune of the first cohort of the Frixagi at
Rutcheſter,

The prefect of the wing ſtyled Saviniana at Halton-
cheſters,

The prefect of the ſecond wing of the Aſti at Walwick-
cheſters,

The tribune of the first cohort of the Batavi at Car-
rowbrugh,

The tribune of the first cohort of the Tungri at Houſe-
ſteeds,

The tribune of the fourth cohort of Gauls at Little-
cheſters,

The tribune of the first cohort of the Aſti at Great-
cheſters,

The tribune of the ſecond cohort of Dalmatians at
Carvoran,

the ſame with Magnis in the Itinerary, and placeth it at Old
Radnor. But in this he is probably miſtaken.

¹ For an account of the ſtations on the line of Severus's
wall, ſee the Diſſertation on the Roman walls in Britain, in
this Appendix, No. IX.

No. VI.

Tribunus cohortis primæ Æliæ Dacorum Ambo-
glanna,

Præfectus alæ Petrianæ Petrianis,

Præfectus numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum Aballaba,

Tribunus cohortis secundæ Lergorum Congavata,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Hispanorum Axeloduno,

Tribunus cohortis secundæ Thracum Gabrosenti,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Æliæ classicæ Tunnocelo,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Morinorum Glannibanta,

Tribunus cohortis tertiæ Nerviorum Alione,

Cuneus armaturarum Bremetenraco,

Præfectus alæ primæ Herculeæ Olenaco,

Tribunus cohortis sextæ Nerviorum Virofido.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis dux hoc modo :

Principem ex officiis magistrorum militum præsentat-
lium alternis annis,

Commentariensem utrumque,

Numerarios ex utrisque officiis omni anno,

Adjutorem,

Subadjuvam,

Regerendarium,

Exceptores,

Singulares et reliquos officiales.

The tribune of the first cohort of Dacians, called Ælia,
at Burdofwald,

The prefect of the wing called Petriana at Cambeck-fort,

The prefect of a detachment of Moors called Aure-
liani, at Watch-cross,

The tribune of the second cohort of the Lergi at Stanwix,

The tribune of the first cohort of Spaniards at Brugh,

The tribune of the second cohort of Thracians at
Drumburgh,

The tribune of the first marine cohort, styled Ælia, at
Boulness,

The tribune of the first cohort of the Marini at
Lanchester,

The tribune of the third cohort of the Nervii at Whit-
ley-castle,

A body of men in armour at Brampton,

The prefect of the first wing called Herculea, at Old
Carlisle,

The tribune of the sixth cohort of the Nervii at Elen-
borough.

The same honourable count hath his court composed in
this manner:

A principal officer from the courts of the generals of the
soldiers in ordinary attendance, changed yearly,

A master of the prisons from each,

Auditors yearly from both the courts,

An assistant,


An under-assistant,

A register,

Clerks of appeals,

Serjeants, and other under-officers.

NUMBER VII.

No. VII.  MAP of BRITAIN, *in the most perfect state of the Roman Power and Government in this island.*

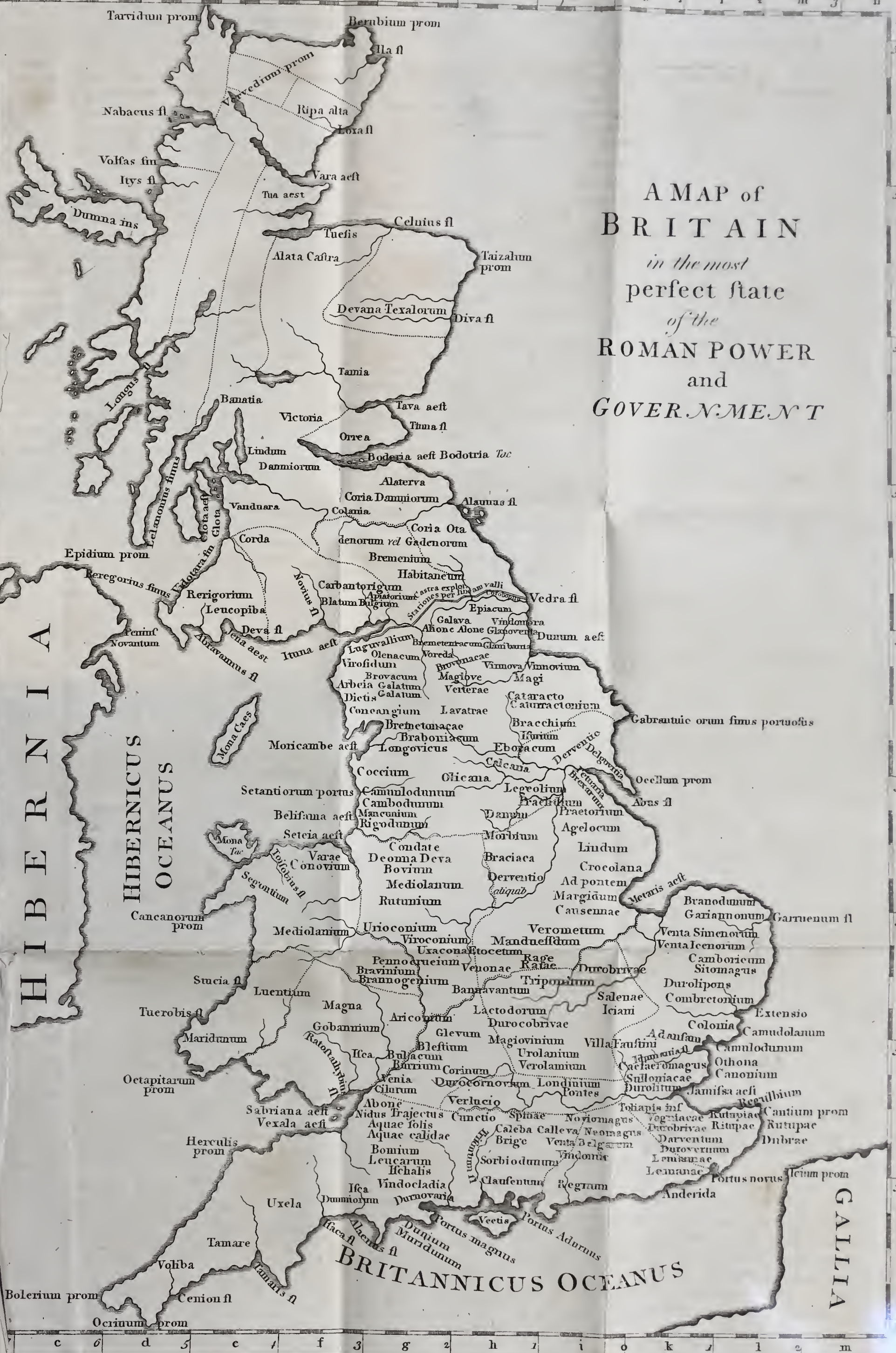
NUMBER VIII.

DISSERTATION *on the* ROMAN
FORCES *in* Britain.

No. VIII. **T**O enable the English reader, who is but little acquainted with the constitution of the Roman armies, to judge the better of what hath been said in the preceding history concerning the conquest of this island by that people, we have here subjoined a very brief account of the several bodies of troops employed by them in making and preserving that conquest. By this we shall see clearly that the Romans viewed the acquisition of this noble island, uncultivated as it then was, in a very important light; that they met with a vigorous opposition from its brave inhabitants; and that they were obliged to employ a very great military force to overcome that opposition, and to impose their yoke upon the necks of free-born Britons.

To render this account of the Roman forces in Britain more intelligible, it is necessary to give a short description of the Roman legions, and of the auxiliary troops. The legions were the flower and strength of the Roman armies, being composed only of Roman citizens; of whom a certain number, consisting both of horse and foot,
formed


A MAP of
BRITAIN
*in the most
perfect state
of the
ROMAN POWER
and
GOVERNMENT*





formed into one body, under officers of different ranks, constituted a legion. It appears that this corps did not always contain the same number of troops, but varied considerably at different periods. During the regal government of Rome the legion consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse; under the consuls it was composed of four thousand two hundred foot, and four hundred horse; but under the emperors it amounted to six thousand, of which four hundred were horse. The legions were distinguished from each other, as our regiments are at present, by their number, being called the first, second, third, fourth legion; and also by certain honourable epithets, as the strong, the valiant, the victorious, the pious, the faithful, and the like. The number of legions which were kept on foot by the Romans was very different, according to the extent of their empire, and the exigencies of their affairs. In the early times of the republic they had commonly no more than four legions, but in the flourishing ages of the empire they had no fewer than twenty-five^a. The foot which composed a legion were of four kinds, called Velites, Hastati, Principes, and Triarii. The Velites were lightly armed with different kinds of weapons, as swords, bows and arrows, slings and javelins, and were designed for skirmishing with the enemy before a battle, and pursuing them after a defeat. For defensive armour the Velites had only a small round target, and a helmet or a head-piece. The Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, were all armed nearly in the same manner, with swords and spears, and large shields, and differed little from each other except in the time which they had served, and the degrees of military skill and experience which they had acquired. In the day of battle the Hastati were placed in the first line, the Principes in the second, and the Triarii in the third.

^a Dion, l. 55. p. 564.

No. VIII.  The Velites formed small flying parties both in front and rear. Each legion was subdivided into ten cohorts, each cohort into ten centuries, and each century into ten decurions. The whole legion was commanded by a legate, each cohort by a military tribune, each century by a centurion, and each decurion, by a decurio, or decanus. Each century had a vexillum or pair of colours, to the guarding of which ten of the best soldiers in the century were allotted, and all these, in the different centuries of a legion, formed a very choice body of men, which was called the vexillation of that legion, and was sometimes separated from it, and sent upon particular services^b. The vexillation of a legion was equal in number of men to a cohort, and had an equal proportion allotted unto it in the execution of all public works^c. The number of cavalry in a legion was four hundred, divided into ten troops, and the troop was again divided into three decuriæ, each of which was commanded by a decurio. The arms of the cavalry were much the same with those of the heavy armed foot, except that their shields were shorter, for the conveniency of managing them on horseback. Many ancient writers express the highest admiration of the wise and excellent constitution of the Roman legion, to which they ascribe, in a great measure, that long and almost uninterrupted course of victories which that people obtained over all other nations. The legion was indeed a little army of free citizens, containing within itself a due proportion of all the different kinds of troops, both horse and foot, which were then in use, all well armed, excellently disciplined, and commanded by a great number of officers in the most regular subordination. But it was the noble virtues of courage, patience, diligence, obedience, sobriety, and ardent zeal for the honour of

^b Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 96.

^c Hygin. de Grammat. Vegetius, l. 1. c. 13.

their corps and their country, with which the Roman legions were animated, which rendered them invincible.

Besides the legions, the Roman armies consisted of auxiliary troops, raised in those cities and provinces of the empire, whose inhabitants had not been honoured with the title and privileges of Roman citizens. The auxiliaries were not formed into legions, like the Roman soldiers, but into cohorts, and their subdivisions. The reasons of this distinction might be that some cities and provinces did not furnish a sufficient number of troops to compose a legion; and that the Romans did not think it prudent to form so great a number of auxiliaries into one body. The auxiliary cohorts were not wholly independent of, and unconnected with, the Roman legions, but a certain number of auxiliaries, both horse and foot, were united to each legion, and were called the auxiliaries of that legion, being commonly employed in the same services, and sent upon the same expeditions with the legion^d. The auxiliaries of each legion were equal to the legion in number of foot, but double in the number of horse^e. The auxiliaries were armed after the manner of their respective countries, except when the Romans thought it proper to make some change in that particular. The auxiliary troops were seldom or never permitted to serve in the country to which they belonged, but were sent into some distant province. The excellent policy of this measure is very obvious. The auxiliaries were commonly placed at the two extremities of the line of battle, the Romans reserving the center to themselves. It is for this reason that the auxiliary foot are so often called *cornua*, or horns, and the auxiliary horse, *alæ*, or wings. The Roman generals, however, sometimes changed this disposition in the day of battle, placing the auxiliaries in the front and

^d Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 61. l. 4. c. 62.

^e Polyb. l. 6. p. 472. Tit. Liv. l. 22. c. 36,

center,

No VIII. center, to save and spare the legions^f. This very short and general description of the Roman legionary and auxiliary troops will, it is hoped, be sufficient to enable the reader to understand the following account of the Roman forces in Britain; the only end for which it is here inserted. In this account, a legion is estimated at the round number of six thousand men, and the auxiliaries at the same.

Julius Cæsar, in his first expedition into Britain, brought with him only the infantry of the seventh and tenth legions, which could not make up quite twelve thousand men, as the cavalry of these two legions, which he had commanded to follow him, never arrived^g. The smallness of this army seems to intimate that Cæsar entertained but a mean opinion of the Britons, and expected to meet with little resistance. He soon discovered his mistake; and therefore, in his second expedition, he brought over no fewer than five entire legions, making a gallant army of thirty thousand Roman soldiers, but without any auxiliary troops^h. With this great army this greatest of generals made no permanent conquests; but after gaining some advantages, and sustaining some losses, he carried his forces back again into Gaul. The next attempt which was made upon Britain, in the reign of Claudius, was with a still greater army, consisting of four legions and their auxiliaries, or forty-eight thousand menⁱ. The four legions which came over on this occasion were, the second, the ninth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth, for these, and these only, are mentioned in the history of that expedition. This great army continued in Britain from A. D. 43, when it arrived, to A. D. 76, when the fourteenth legion was recalled, in the first year of Vesp-

^f Tacit. Hist. l. 5. c. 16. Vita Agric. c. 35.

^g Cæf. Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 2. 23. 28.

^h Id. l. 5. c. 7.

ⁱ Tacit. Vita Agric. c. 13.

pasian^k. From thence there were only three legions in this island to the reign of Hadrian, when the sixth came over from Germany. As these five, the second, sixth, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth, were the only Roman legions which made any long stay, or did any thing memorable here, it may not be improper to take a short view of the arrival, departure, and most considerable works and services performed by each of them, in order. No.VIII.

The second legion, which was surnamed Augusta, or the August, came into Britain, A. D. 43, in the reign of Claudius, under the command of Vespasian (who was afterwards emperor), and continued here near four hundred years, to the final departure of the Romans^l. It was on this account that this legion was also called Britannica, or the British. It had a principal share in all the great actions, and great works, performed by the Romans in this island, particularly in building the several walls of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Severus^m. It appears from inscriptions still remaining, that this was the only legion employed in a body on the wall of Antoninus in Scotland. The head-quarters of this legion was at Isca Silurum or Caerleon, i. e. the city of the legion, for the greatest part of the time it continued in Britain; but when the *Notitia Imperii* was written, it was quartered at Rutupæ, or Richborough in Kent, from whence it was soon after transported to the continentⁿ.


The sixth legion, whose name is commonly thus written in inscriptions: Leg. VI. V. P. F. i. e. *Victrix, pia, fidelis*; the victorious, pious, and faithful; came from Germany into Britain in the reign of Hadrian, about A. D. 120. This circumstance we learn from an inscription to the honour of one Marcus Pontius, as secretary to the em-

^k Tacit. Hist. l. 4. c. 68.

^l Id. l. 3. c. 44. *Notitia*, c. 38.

^m *Horf. Brit. Rom.* l. 2. c. 2.

ⁿ *Notitia*, c. 52.

No.VIII.  peror Hadrian, and a tribune of the sixth legion, with which (the inscription says) he came over out of Germany into Britain^o. This legion probably came in the train of Hadrian when he visited Britain, and was employed by him in building his wall in the north of England, and left behind him to supply the place of the ninth legion, which was either disbanded or removed before that period. From that time, the sixth legion bore its part in all the wars and works of the Romans in this island. It appears with unquestionable certainty from inscriptions, that the vexillation of this legion built 7801 paces of Antoninus's wall in Scotland, while the body of it was probably employed in protecting the workmen from the assaults of the Caledonians^p. After this work was finished it returned to York, which was the stated head-quarters of this legion. It is further evident from inscriptions, that this legion wrought upon the wall of Severus, though it cannot be discovered what quantity of that they executed; and in these parts they continued to their final departure out of Britain, some time in the former part of the fifth century.

The ninth legion came into Britain in the reign of Claudius, A. D. 42, and was the most unfortunate of all the Roman legions which served in this island. The infantry of it were almost entirely cut in pieces by the Britons, in their great revolt under Boadicia. It was recruited in the reign of Nero with two thousand Roman soldiers and eight cohorts of auxiliaries, but being still weak, it was attacked, and severely handled by the Caledonians in the sixth campaign of Agricola^q. We hear no more of the ninth legion after this second disaster. It is most probable that it was at length disbanded, and the remains of it incorporated with the sixth.

^o Gale Itin. Anton. p. 47.

^p See Appendix, No. IX.

^q Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 38.

The fourteenth legion was one of the four which came over into Britain in the reign of Claudius, where it acquired great honour, and contributed so much to the reduction of this island, that the soldiers of it were called the conquerors of Britain^r. The Batavians, who were the auxiliaries of this legion, were also much renowned for their bravery, and reckoned among the veteran forces of the empire, famous for many victories^s. This was the only entire legion in the army of Paulinus, when he obtained that great victory over the Britons under Boadicia, and to their valour this victory was, in great measure, owing. After this legion had remained in Britain about twenty-five years, it was transported to the continent by Nero, A. D. 58, who designed to send it to Asia^t. But the death of Nero, and the troubles which ensued, prevented the execution of that design, and Vitellius, being jealous of this legion, sent it back with its auxiliaries into Britain about a year after. As they were on their march towards this island the second time, a great quarrel happened at Turin between the legion and its auxiliaries, who had taken different sides in the competition for the empire. Upon this quarrel they were separated, and Vitellius finding the auxiliaries zealous in his interest, kept them in his army, and commanded the legion to proceed on its march^u. But the fame of this legion was so great that it was not suffered to remain long in Britain; but about a year after its second arrival, it was removed to the continent, from whence it never returned again into this island^x.

The twentieth legion was also one of the four which came into Britain in the reign of Claudius, and contributed to the reduction of it. The vexillation of this

^r Tacit. Hist. l. 5. c. 16.

^s Id. l. 2. c. 28.

^t Id. l. 2. c. 11.

^u Id. l. 2. c. 66.

^x Id. l. 4. c. 68.

No. VIII. legion was in the army of Suetonius Paulinus at the battle of Boadicia, the body of it being in some other part of the island^y. As this legion continued very long in Britain it no doubt had its share in the several military operations of the Romans here, and also in the execution of their many great and useful works. The head quarters of this legion, during the greatest part of the time it continued in this island, were at Diva, or West-chester; for it was not the custom of the Romans to fatigue their troops with unnecessary marches, merely for the sake of changing their quarters. It is impossible to discover the precise time when this legion left Britain. As it is not mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, it was certainly gone from hence before that book was written. It is most probable that it was recalled about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, when the continental provinces of the empire began to be much harassed by the incursions of the barbarous nations.

From this short view of the Roman legions which served in Britain, it appears that there were four legions here from the invasion of Claudius, A. D. 43, to the accession of Vespasian, A. D. 70. From thence to the arrival of Hadrian, who brought over the sixth legion, A. D. 120, there were three legions in this island; the second, ninth, and twentieth. As the ninth legion was either removed or disbanded about that time, the number of legions in Britain, from thence to the beginning of the fifth century, was still three, the second, the sixth, and the twentieth; which, on account of their long stay in this island, were commonly called the *Britannic legions*. After the departure of the twentieth legion, at the period above mentioned, the other two remained some time longer, but were at last withdrawn, when the Romans

^y Tacit. *Annal.* l. 14. c. 34.

finally abandoned this island. If these legions had been No.VIII.
 always complete, we could know with precision the
 number of Roman soldiers in Britain in these several
 periods. But this was far from being the case. The
 ninth legion was long very weak, and it is probable that
 the others were not very regularly recruited, especially
 in the times of long tranquillity.

As the Latin writers do not make so frequent and particular mention of the auxiliary troops as the legions, we cannot discover with so much certainty the particular bodies of auxiliaries which served in this island in conjunction with the legions. The four legions which invaded Britain in the reign of Claudius, seem to have had their full compliment of auxiliaries; but what these were we are not informed, except that there were eight cohorts of Batavians among the auxiliaries of the fourteenth legion². But as the three Britannic legions continued here without interruption above three hundred years, we are enabled by the Notitia Imperii and Inscriptions, to discover a great part of the auxiliary cohorts which served in conjunction with these three legions. The full complement of auxiliaries to three legions amounts to thirty cohorts of foot, and six alæ or wings of horse, being ten cohorts and two alæ to each legion. Now the information which may be derived from the Notitia and Inscriptions concerning the auxiliaries of the three Britannic legions, as it has been carefully collected by the learned and industrious Mr. Horsley, stands thus:

1. The eight following cohorts of auxiliary foot are mentioned both in the Notitia and in Inscriptions.

Cohors prima Ælia Dacorum.
 prima Batavorum.

² Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 59.

Cohors

No. VIII.

Cohors prima Bætaſiorum, vel Vetefiorum.
 quarta Gallorum.
 prima Hiſpanorum.
 tertia Nerviorum.
 ſexta Nerviorum.
 prima Tungrorum.

2. The fourteen following cohorts of foot are mentioned in Inſcriptions, but not in the Notitia :

Cohors quarta Brittonum.
 prima Cortov . . .
 Carvetiorum.
 prima Cugernorum.
 prima Dalmatarum.
 quarta Friſonum.
 prima Freſcor . . .
 quinta Gallorum.
 prima Hamiorum.
 ſecunda Lingonum.
 ex provincia Maur . . .
 prima Thracum.
 prima Vangionum.
 prima Vardulorum.

3. The nine following cohorts of auxiliary foot are mentioned only in the Notitia, but are not found in Inſcriptions :

Cohors prima Ælia claffica.
 prima Aſtorum.
 Cornoviorum.
 ſecunda Dalmatarum,
 prima Frixagorum.
 ſecunda Lergorum.
 quarta Lergorum.
 prima Morinorum.
 ſecunda Thracum.

The seventeen cohorts of auxiliary foot, which are mentioned in the Notitia, very probably belonged to the second and sixth legions, which continued longest in Britain, and were in it when the Notitia was written. But as seventeen cohorts do not make up the full complement of auxiliaries for two legions, it is probable that the other three cohorts belonging to these legions acted as scouts, watchmen, and guides, of which several bodies are mentioned in the Notitia. The fourteen cohorts whose names are found in inscriptions, though they are not mentioned in the Notitia, were perhaps the auxiliaries of the twentieth legion, which had left Britain before the Notitia was written. It is true, fourteen is a greater number of auxiliary cohorts than belonged to one legion; but as we have no evidence that all these fourteen were in Britain at the same time, it is probable that they were not, but that they served here at different times, as the exigencies of affairs required. The reader will see at what places the seventeen auxiliary cohorts which are mentioned in the Notitia were quartered, by looking into the 52d and 63d chapters of the Notitia, Appendix, No. VI. Nothing certain can be determined concerning the places where those cohorts were quartered, which are only mentioned in inscriptions; because it is not very well known where some of these inscriptions were found, and because some of these cohorts are mentioned in several inscriptions which have been found at different places ^a.

As the auxiliary foot were formed into cohorts, the auxiliary horse were formed into alæ or wings, because they were commonly stationed on the wings of the army on the day of battle. An alæ or wing of auxiliary horse consisted of four hundred, and there were two of these wings united to each legion ^b. According to this ac-

^a Horsf. Brit. Rom. p. 90.

^b Airtius, c. 67.

No. VIII. count, the whole number of cavalry belonging to a legion was twelve hundred, of which four hundred were Romans, and eight hundred auxiliaries. We need not make any inquiry after the wings of auxiliary horse which belonged to the ninth and fourteenth legions, because their stay here was so short, that it is not to be imagined there are any monuments of them now remaining. But this is not the case with the three Britannic legions; for we find five wings of auxiliary horse, which undoubtedly belonged to them, mentioned in the Notitia, and three mentioned in inscriptions. The five following are mentioned in the Notitia :

Ala prima Astorum.
 Petriana.
 Sabiniana.
 secunda Astorum.
 Prima Herculea.

The three following are found only in inscriptions :

Ala Augusta.
 Sarmatarum.
 pettonum.

But as eight alæ or wings are too many for three legions, it is highly probable that two of these, which are found only in inscriptions, are the same with some two of those in the Notitia, under different names. We have even strong evidence that the ala Augusta in the inscriptions was the same with the ala prima Herculea in the Notitia. All the three inscriptions in which this ala Augusta is mentioned, which are remarkably full and perfect, were found at Olenacum, or Old Carlisle; and from them it appears that this ala had quartered here a great number of years, one of the inscriptions having been erected A. D. 188, the second A. D. 191, and the last A. D. 242. It ap-

^c Hist. Brit. Rom. p. 276, 277.

pears also from the last of these inscriptions, that this ala was sometimes called ala Augusta Gordiana, from the emperor Gordian III. Now the Notitia fixes the ala prima Herculea at the same place (Olenacum), which is almost a demonstration that it was the same with the ala Augusta, which had sometimes been called Gordiana, in honour of the emperor Gordian, and afterwards Herculea, in honour of the emperor Maximianus Herculeus^d. It is also probable that the ala which is called Petriana in the Notitia, from Petriana (Cambeck-Fort), the place where it was quartered, was the same either with the ala Sarmatarum or ala Vettonum; it being no very uncommon thing for the same body of troops to take its name sometimes from the place where it had been long quartered, and sometimes from the country to which it originally belonged. If these suppositions are well founded, we have the exact number of the six alæ or wings of auxiliary horse which belonged to the three Britannic legions. For it seems probable, that when the twentieth legion was removed out of this island, its alæ or auxiliary horse were left behind for some time, to assist those of the other two legions.

Such were the legionary and auxiliary forces employed by the Romans in subduing Britain, in keeping it in subjection, and in protecting it from its enemies. From this account it appears, that this wise and brave people thought it worth their while, and found it necessary, to employ a very great military force in making and preserving this conquest. The army which subdued provincial Britain, under Claudius, amounted to near fifty thousand men; and the whole of that great army continued here about six and twenty years, until the Roman authority was thoroughly established. From thence, for more than three hundred years, the standing army which the Ro-

^d Notitia, c. 63.

No. VIII. mans kept in this island (if the several corps of which it was composed were not very deficient) could not be much less than thirty thousand strong; and even from the beginning of the fifth century to near the time of their final departure, their army here must have consisted of about twenty thousand men. As the Romans were as prudent œconomists as they were brave soldiers, we need not question that this island supported the army which was kept up for its protection, as well as made remittances to the imperial treasury. The legionaries were rewarded with grants of land at or near the places where they were stationed, which was one reason why the same corps continued so long at the same places; and the auxiliaries were paid out of the taxes and customs. The Romans derived two other advantages from the possession of Britain, which made them so unwilling to relinquish it. From hence they frequently supplied their armies in Gaul and Germany with corn, and here they raised a great number of brave troops for the protection of the other provinces of their empire. For, as we see from the above account of the auxiliaries in Britain, that the natives of many different and distant nations were employed by the Romans to keep this country under their obedience, so we may be certain that Britain was obliged to return the compliment, and send great numbers of her bravest youth to serve as auxiliaries in other provinces of the empire. From the Notitia and from inscriptions Mr. Camden hath collected the following bodies of British auxiliaries, and from the same sources several others may be gathered; besides many others of which no monuments are now remaining:

Ala Britannica Milliaria.

Ala quarta Britonum in Egypto.

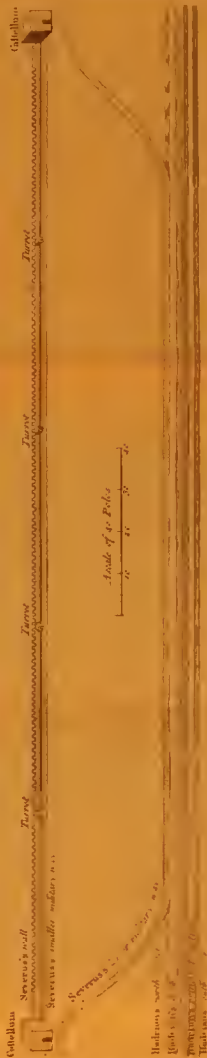
Cohors prima Ælia Britonum.

Cohors tertia Britonum.

Cohors



A draught of part of the walls from one Castrum to another between Towertay and Carrawburgh



The profile of the Roman walls in Northumberland about half a mile west from Cartaw



Cohors septima Britonum.

Cohors vigesima sexta Britonum in Armenia.

Britanniciani sub Magistro peditum.

Inveſti juniores Britanniciani } inter auxilia Palatina.
 Exculcatores jun. Britan. }

Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.

Inveſti juniores Britones intra Hispanias.

Britones Seniores in Illyrico^c.

As the twenty-sixth cohort of British auxiliary foot is here mentioned, we are certain that there were at least twenty-six cohorts of British infantry in the Roman service, which amount to fifteen thousand six hundred men. But it is probable there were many more, as well as a proportional number of cavalry. It appears further, that some of these bodies of British troops had acquitted themselves with so much bravery as to acquire the honourable title of Invincible.

NUMBER IX.

DISSERTATION *on the* ROMAN WALLS *in* BRITAIN.

THE Romans not only excelled all other nations in the arts of making conquests, but also in the arts of preserving them, both from internal commotions and external violence. It was owing to these last arts that this wonderful people kept so many mighty nations, for so many ages, in peaceable subjection to their authority, and also protected their wide-extended empire from foreign enemies.

^c Camd. Introd. Brit. p. 107.

No. IX. The means employed by the Romans, to secure the internal tranquillity of their British dominions, have been considered in another Dissertation^a. We here propose to take a very short view of the methods which they used to protect their territories in this island from the incursions of the unconquered Britons in the North.

Where the confines of the Roman provinces towards their enemies were not secured and protected by seas, firths, rivers, woods, and mountains, they supplied the place of these natural barriers by artificial ones, and defended those parts of their frontiers which were most accessible, by building chains of forts, by digging deep ditches, by raising mighty mounds and ramparts of earth, and even by erecting stone-walls. All these methods were employed by the Romans, for securing the northern frontiers of their British territories; and we shall now consider them in their order.

The wise and brave Agricola having, in the first year of his government of Britain, A. D. 78, suppressed the commotions, and redressed the grievances of the provincial Britons; in his second year, conducted his army northward, and reduced the Brigantes, the Ottadini, the Gadeni, and perhaps the Selgove, to obedience, obliged them to give hostages, and begirt them with garrisons and fortresses to secure his conquest^b. These forts, built by Agricola in the second year of his government, are thought to have been in or near the tract where Hadrian's rampart and Severus's wall were afterwards erected^c. In his third year, Agricola pushed his conquests as far north as the river Tay; and towards the end of that campaign, and during the whole of his fourth summer, he employed his forces in building a

^a Dissertation on the Roman forces in Britain.

^b Tacit. vita Agric. c. 19, 20.

^c Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 42.

chain of forts between the firths of Forth and Clyde, which he seems to have thought the most convenient place for fixing the boundaries of the Roman empire in this island. "It was observed of Agricola (says Tacitus, "speaking of this chain of forts) by men of experience, "that never had any captain more wisely chosen his "stations for commodiousness and situation; for that no "place of strength founded by him was ever taken by "violence, or abandoned upon articles, or through des- "pair^d." So that this chain of forts, in each of which there was a competent garrison, with provisions for a year, answered the end for which it was designed, of keeping the adjacent country in obedience, and restraining the incursions of the Caledonians, while Agricola continued to command in Britain. But his successors in that office were not possessed of his wisdom and abilities, which rendered his forts but a feeble security of the subjection of the surrounding country, and of the safety of the Roman province after his departure. For though we know little, particularly, of what happened in Britain from the departure of Agricola, A. D. 85, to the arrival of Hadrian, A. D. 120; yet it appears, in general, that the British nations in the south of Scotland, and in the north of England, had thrown off the Roman yoke in that interval^e. The emperor Hadrian, being more intent upon defending than enlarging his empire, contracted its limits a little in Britain; and for its greater security, drew a profound ditch, and threw up a mighty rampart from sea to sea; which, being the second artificial barrier of the Roman territories in Britain, comes now to be considered^f.

Though the word *Murus*, which often signifies a wall of stone, is sometimes used by the Latin writers when

^d Tacit. vita Agric. c. 22, 23.

^e Script. Hist. August. p. 22.

^f Id. p. 51.


No.IX. they are speaking of Hadrian's fence or rampart: yet it is very certain, from its remains, and other evidences, that it was not built of stone, but of earth^g. This prodigious work was carried on from the Solway firth, a little to the west of the village of Burgh on the Sands, in as direct a line as it was possible, to the river Tine on the east, at the place where the town of Newcastle now stands, so that it must have been above sixty English, and near seventy Roman miles in length. This work can hardly be described in fewer or plainer words than those of one of our best antiquaries, who had examined it with the greatest care. "What belongs to this work is, 1. The "principal Agger or Vallum (rampart) on the brink of "the ditch: 2. The ditch on the north side of the "Vallum: 3. Another Agger (or mound of earth) on "the south side of the principal Vallum (or rampart), "and about five paces distant from it, which I call the "south Agger: 4. And a large Agger (or mound) on "the north side of the ditch, called the north Agger. "This last, I suppose, was the military way to the ancient line of forts (built by Agricola), and it must have "served as a military way to this work also, or it is "plain there has been none attending it. The south "Agger, I suppose, has either been made for an inner "defence, in case the enemy might beat them from any "part of the principal rampart, or to protect the soldiers "against a sudden attack from the provincial Britons. "It is generally somewhat smaller than the principal "rampart, but in some places it is larger. These four "works keep all the way a constant regular parallelism "one to another^h." The distance of the North Agger or mound from the brink of the ditch, is about twenty feet. This work hath, for many ages, been in so ruin-

^g Script. Hist. August. p. 51.

^h Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 117.

ous a condition, and the several ramparts are so much diminished in height, and increased in breadth, by the sliding and spreading of the earth in so long a course of time, that it is impossible to discover, with certainty, their original dimensions. If we may judge, however, from appearance, it seems highly probable that the principal rampart was at least ten or twelve feet high; the south one not much less, but the north one considerably lower. The dimensions of the ditch have been exactly taken, as it passes through a lime-stone quarry near Harlow-hill, and appears to have been near nine feet deep, and eleven feet wide at the top; but somewhat narrower at the bottom. Such was that prodigious rampart or fence erected by the command of the emperor Hadrian A. D. 120, for the defence of the Roman territories to the south of it, from the incursions of the Britons on the north. This work was defended by a competent number of Roman soldiers and auxiliary troops, who garrisoned the forts and stations which were situated along the line of it at proper distances. These forts and stations had been built before, or the greatest part of them, by Agricola and others; but we shall meet with a fairer opportunity of describing them by and bye, when we come to speak of Severus's wall. However, to give the reader as clear an idea as possible of the several parts of this work, he will find a draught of it in profile, in the plate annexed to this Dissertation.

But this work of Hadrian's did not long continue to be the extreme boundary of the Roman territories to the north in Britain. For Antoninus Pius, the adopted son, and immediate successor, of Hadrian, having by his legate Lollius Urbicus, brought the Maeatae again under the yoke, commanded another rampart to be erected much further north, between the firths of Forth and Clyde, in the tract where Agricola had formerly built his chain of forts.

No. IX.  forts¹. The great number of inscriptions which have been found in or near the ruins of this wall, or rampart, to the honour of Antoninus Pius, leave us no room to doubt its having been built by his direction and command^k. If the fragment of a Roman pillar with an inscription, now in the college library at Edinburgh, belonging to this work, as it is generally supposed to have done, it fixes the date of its execution to the third consulship of Antoninus, which was A. D. 140, only twenty years after that of Hadrian, of which this seems to have been an imitation. This wall or rampart, as some imagine, reached from Caer-riden on the firth of Forth, to Old-Kirkpatrick on the Clyde; or, as others think, from Kinnel on the east, to Dunglass on the west^l. These different suppositions hardly make a mile of difference in the length of this work, which, from several actual mensurations, appears to have been about thirty-seven English or forty Roman miles^m. Capitolinus in his life of Antoninus Pius directly affirms, that the wall which that emperor built in Britain was of turfⁿ. This in the main is unquestionably true; though it is evident (from the vestiges of it still remaining, which not very many years ago were dug up and examined for near a mile together), that the foundation was of stone^o. Mr. Camden also tells us, from the papers of one Mr. Anthony Pont, that the principal rampart was faced with square stone, to prevent the earth from falling into the ditch^p. The chief parts of this work were as follows: 1. A broad and deep ditch, whose dimensions cannot now be discovered with certainty and exactness, though Mr. Pont says, it was twelve feet wide. 2. The principal wall or rampart

¹ Script. Hist. August. p. 132.

^k Horsf. Brit. Rom. p. 194, &c.

^l Gordon Itin. Septent. p. 50. 60.

^m Horsf. Brit. Rom. p. 160.

ⁿ Script. Hist. Aug. p. 132.

^o Gordon Itin. Septent. p. 63. Horsley, p. 163.

^p Camd. Brit. p. 1287.

was about twelve feet thick at the foundation, but its original height cannot now be determined. This wall was situated on the south brink of the ditch. 3. A military way on the south side of the principal wall, well paved, and raised a little above the level of the ground. This work, as well as that of Hadrian, was defended by garrisons placed in forts and stations along the line of it. The number of these forts or stations, whose vestiges were visible in Mr. Pont's time, were eighteen, situated at about the distance of two miles from each other. In the intervals between the forts, there were turrets or watch towers. But the number of these, and their distance from each other, cannot now be discovered. That the reader may have as clear an idea as possible of this grand and noble work, and of the course which it pursued, he will find a delineation of its whole length, with the chief forts upon it, and also a draught of it in profile, in the plate annexed to this Dissertation.

It is not a little surprising, that though it is now more than sixteen hundred years since this work was finished, and more than thirteen hundred since it was slighted, we can yet discover, from authentic monuments which are still remaining, by what particular bodies of Roman troops almost every part of it was executed. This discovery is made from inscriptions upon stones, which were originally built into the face of the wall, and have been found in or near its ruins, and are carefully preserved. The number of stones with inscriptions of this kind now extant, is eleven; of which six may be seen at one view in the college of Glasgow, one in the college of Aberdeen, one in the college of Edinburgh, one in the collection of Baron Clerk, one at Cochnoch-house, and one at Calder-house. From these inscriptions it appears in general, that this great work was executed by the second legion, the vexillations of the sixth legion, and of the

No. IX. the twentieth legion, and one cohort of auxiliaries. If these corps were all complete, they would make in all a body of seven thousand eight hundred men. Some of these inscriptions have suffered greatly by the injuries of time and other accidents, so that we cannot discover from them, with absolute certainty, how many paces of this work were executed by each of these bodies of troops. The sum of the certain and probable information contained in these inscriptions, as it is collected by the learned and illustrious Mr. Horsley, stands thus:

	Paces.
The second legion built - -	11,603
The vexillation of the sixth legion -	7,411
The vexillation of the 20th legion -	7,801
<hr/>	
All certain - -	26,815
The vexillation of the 20th legion, the monument certain, and the number probable	3,411
The same vexillation on a plain monument, no number visible, supposed - -	3,500
The sixth legion, a monument, but no number, supposed - - -	3,000
Cohors prima Cugernorum -	3,000
<hr/>	
Total - -	39,726

or 39 miles 726 paces, nearly the whole length of the wall. It would have been both useful and agreeable to have known, how long time these troops were employed in the execution of this great work. But of this we have no information. Neither do we know what particular bodies of troops were in garison in the several forts and stations along the line of this wall, because these garrisons were withdrawn before the Notitia Imperii was written.

Though we cannot discover exactly how many years this wall of the emperor Antoninus continued to be the boundary

boundary of the Roman territories in Britain, yet we know with certainty, that it was not very long. For we are told by an author of undoubted credit, that, in the reign of Commodus, A. D. 180, "he had wars with
 "several foreign nations, but none so dangerous as that
 "of Britain. For the people of that island, having
 "passed the wall which divided them from the Romans,
 "attacked them, and cut them in pieces¹."

No IX.

We learn further from several hints in the Roman historians, that the country between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus continued to be a scene of perpetual war and subject of contention, between the Romans and Britons, from the beginning of the reign of Commodus to the arrival of the emperor Septimius Severus in Britain, A. D. 206. This last emperor having subdued the Maeatæ, and repulsed the Caledonians, determined to erect a stronger and more impenetrable barrier than any of the former, against their future incursions. As this last wall, built by Severus, was by far the greatest of all the Roman works in Britain, it merits a more particular description.

Though neither Dio nor Herodian make any mention of a wall built by Severus in Britain for the protection of the Roman province, yet we have abundant evidence from other writers of equal authority, that he really built such a wall. "He fortified Britain (says Spartian) with a
 "wall drawn cross the island, from sea to sea; which
 "is the greatest glory of his reign. After the wall was
 "finished, he retired to the next station (York) not only
 "a conqueror, but founder of an eternal peace²." To the same purpose Aurelius Victor and Orosius, to say nothing of Eutropius and Cassiodorus: "Having repelled
 "the enemy in Britain, he fortified the country, which

¹ Dio, l. 72. p. 820.

² Script. Hist. August. p. 363.

No. IX. " was suited to that purpose, with a wall drawn cross the
 " island from sea to sea. Severus drew a great ditch, and
 " built a strong wall, fortified with several turrets, from
 " sea to sea, to protect that part of the island which he
 " had recovered, from the yet unconquered nations ^s." As the residence of the emperor Severus in Britain was not quite four years, it is probable that the two last of them were employed, or the greatest part of them, in building his wall; according to which account, it was begun A.D. 209, and finished A.D. 210.


This wall of Severus was built nearly on the same tract with Hadrian's rampart, at the distance only of a few paces north. The length of this wall, from Cousins-house near the mouth of the river Tine on the east, to Boulnefs on the Solway firth on the west, hath been found, from two actual mensurations, to be a little more than sixty-eight English miles, and a little less than seventy-four Roman miles^t. To the north of the wall was a broad and deep ditch, the original dimensions of which cannot now be ascertained, only it seems to have been larger than that of Hadrian. The wall itself, which stood on the south-brink of the ditch, was built of solid stone, strongly cemented with the best mortar; the stones which formed both the faces being square ashlers, and the filling stones large flags, set a little slanting. The height of this wall was twelve feet besides the parapet, and its breadth eight feet, according to Bede, who lived only at a small distance from the east end of it, and in whose time it was almost quite entire in many places^u. Such was the wall erected by the command and under the direction of the emperor Severus in the north of England; and considering the length, breadth, height, and solidity

^s Oros. l. 7. c. 11.

^t Gordon's Itin. Septent. p. 83. Horsl. Brit. Rom. p. 121.


^u Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1.

of it, it was certainly a work of great magnificence and prodigious labour. But the wall itself was but a part, and not the most extraordinary part, of this work. The great number and different kinds of fortresses which were built along the line of it, for its defence, and the military-ways with which it was attended, are still more worthy of our admiration, and come now to be described.

No. IX.


The fortresses which were erected along the line of Severus's wall, for its defence, were of three different kinds, and three different degrees of strength; and were called by three different Latin words, which may be translated, stations, castles, and turrets. Of each of these in their order.

The stations, stations, were so called from their stability and the stated residence of garrisons. They were also called castra, which hath been converted into chestres a name which many of them still bear. These were by far the largest, strongest, and most magnificent of the fortresses which were built upon the wall, and were designed for the head-quarters of the cohorts of troops which were placed there in garrison, and from whence detachments were sent into the adjoining castles and turrets. These stations, as appears from the vestiges of them, which are still visible, were not all exactly of the same figure, nor of the same dimensions; some of them being exactly squares, and others oblong, and some of them a little larger than others. These variations were no doubt occasioned by the difference of situation, and other circumstances. The stations were fortified with deep ditches and strong walls, the wall itself coinciding with, and forming the north wall of each station. Within the stations were lodgings for the officers and soldiers in garrison; the smallest of them being sufficient to contain a cohort, or six hundred men. Without the walls of each station was a town, inhabited by labourers, artificers, and others, both Romans and Britons,

No. IX.  tons, who chose to dwell under the protection of these fortresses. The number of the stations upon the wall was exactly eighteen; and if they had been placed at equal distances, the interval between every two of them would have been four miles and a few paces; but the intervention of rivers, marshes, and mountains; the conveniency of situation for strength, prospect, and water; and many other circumstances to us unknown, determined them to place these stations at unequal distances. The situation which was always chosen by the Romans, both here and every where else in Britain where they could obtain it, was the gentle declivity of a hill, near a river, and facing the meridian sun. Such was the situation of the far greatest part of the stations on this wall. In general we may observe, that the stations stood thickest near the two ends and in the middle, probably because the danger of invasion was greatest in these places. But the reader will form a clearer idea of the number of these stations, their Latin and English names, their situation and distance from one another, by inspecting the following table, than we can give him, with equal brevity, in any other way. The first column contains the number of the station, reckoning from east to west; the second contains its Latin, and the third its English name; and the three last its distance from the next station to the west of it, in miles, furlongs, and chains.

N ^o	Latin Name.	English Name.	M.	F.	C.
1	Segedunum	Coufin's house	3	5	1½
2	Pons Ælii	Newcastle	2	0	9
3	Condercum	Benwell-hill	6	6	5
4	Vindobala	Rutcheſter	7	0	3½
5	Hunnum	Halton-cheſters	5	1	7
6	Cilurnum	Walwick-cheſters	3	1	8
7	Procolitia	Carrabrugh	4	5	3
8	Borcovicus	Houſeſteeds	1	3	8
9	Vindolana	Little-cheſters	3	6	4
10	Æſica	Great-cheſters	2	1	6½
11	Magna	Carrvoran	2	6	0
12	Amboglanna	Burdoſwald	6	2	8
13	Petrianæ	Cambeck	2	6	6
14	Aballaba	Watchcroſs	5	1	9
15	Congavata	Stanwix	3	3	4
16	A xeldunum	Brugh	4	0	9
17	Gabroſentum	Brumbrugh	3	4	1
18	Funnoſcelum	Boulneſs.	0	0	0
Length of the wall			68	3	3

The caſtella, or caſtles, were the ſecond kind of fortifications which were built along the line of this wall for its defence. Theſe caſtles were neither ſo large, nor ſtrong, as the ſtations, but much more numerous, being no fewer than eighty-one. The ſhape and dimensions of the caſtles, as appears from the foundations of many of them which are ſtill viſible, were exact ſquares of ſixty-fix feet every way. They were fortified on every ſide with thick and lofty walls, but without any ditch, except on the north ſide, on which the wall itſelf, raiſed much above its uſual height, with the ditch attending it, formed the fortification. The caſtles were ſituated in the intervals between the ſtations, at the diſtance of about ſeven furlongs from each other; though in this, particu-

No. IX. lar circumstances sometimes occasioned a little variation. In these castles, guards were constantly kept by a competent number of men detached from the nearest stations^y.

The turrets, or turrets, were the third and last kind of fortifications on the wall. These were still much smaller than the castles, and formed only a square of about twelve feet, standing out of the wall on its south side. Being so small, they are more entirely ruined than the stations and castles, which makes it difficult to discover their exact number. They stood in the intervals between the castles, and from the faint vestiges of a few of them, it is conjectured that there were four of them between every two castles, at the distance of about three hundred yards from one another. According to this conjecture, the number of the turrets amounted to three hundred and twenty-four. They were designed for watch-towers, and places for centinels, who, being within hearing of one another, could convey any alarm or intelligence to all parts of the wall in a very little time.

Such were the stations, castles, and turrets on the wall of Severus; and a very considerable body of troops was constantly quartered in them for its defence. The usual compliment allowed for this service was as follows^z:

1. Twelve cohorts of foot, consisting of 600 men each	-	-	7,200
2. One cohort of mariners in the station at Boulnefs	-	-	600
3. One detachment of Moors, probably equal to a cohort	-	-	600
4. Four alæ or wings of horse, consisting, at the lowest computation, of 400 each			1,600
			<hr/>
			10,000

^y Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 112.

^z Notitia Imperii, § 63.

For the conveniency of marching these troops from one part of the wall to the other, with the greater pleasure and expedition, on any service, it was attended with two military-ways, paved with square stones, in the most solid and beautiful manner. One of these ways was smaller, and the other larger. The smaller military-way run close along the south side of the wall, from turret to turret, and castle to castle, for the use of the soldiers in relieving their guards and centinels, and such services. The larger way did not keep so near the wall, nor touch at the turrets or castles, but pursued the most direct course from one station to another, and was designed for the conveniency of marching large bodies of troops.

Such was the wall of Severus, with its ditches, stations, castles, turrets, and military-ways. Our intended brevity obliges us to leave the reader to his own reflections on this stupendous and most noble work, which sets the military skill and indefatigable industry of the Roman troops in so fair a light, and which any antiquary of true spirit would travel a thousand miles on foot to see in its perfection; but since this felicity is denied him, he must content himself with the several views of it which he will find in the plate annexed to this Dissertation.

It is to be regretted, that we cannot gratify the reader's curiosity, by informing him by what particular bodies of Roman troops the several parts of this great work were executed, as we were enabled to do with regard to the wall of Antoninus Pius, from inscriptions. For though it is probable that there were stones with inscriptions of the same kind, mentioning the several bodies of troops, and the quantity of work performed by each of them, originally inserted in the face of this wall, yet none of them are now to be found. There have indeed been discovered, in or near the ruins of this wall, a great number of small square stones, with very short, and generally imperfect, inscriptions

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upon them; mentioning particular legions, cohorts, and centuries, but without directly asserting that they had built any part of the wall, or naming any number of paces. Of these inscriptions the reader may see no fewer than twenty-nine among the Northumberland and Cumberland Inscriptions, in Mr. Horsley's *Britannia Romana*. As the stones on which these inscriptions are cut are of the same shape and size with the other facing-stones of this wall, it is almost certain that they have been originally placed in the face of it. It is equally certain, from the uniformity of these inscriptions, that they were all intended to intimate some one thing, and nothing so probable as that the adjacent wall was built by the troops mentioned in them. This was perhaps so well understood, that it was not thought necessary to be expressed; and the distance of these inscriptions from one another shewed the quantity of work performed. If this was really the case, we know in general that this great work was executed by the second and sixth legions, these being the only legions mentioned in these inscriptions. Now if this prodigious wall, with all its appendages of ditches, stations, castles, turrets, and military-ways, was executed in the space of two years, by two legions only, which, when most complete, made no more than twelve thousand men, how greatly must we admire the skill, the industry, and excellent discipline of the Roman soldiers, who were not only the valiant guardians of the empire in times of war, but its most active and useful members in times of peace? Nor were these soldiers less dextrous in handling their arms when they took the field, than they had before handled the spade, the shovel, the mattock, and the trowel; but, on the contrary, they then fought with the same skill and vigour that they had wrought before. How much is it to be regretted, that a policy so contrary to this prevails in modern Europe; and that her numerous standing
armies,

armies, which sometimes make such dreadful havock in times of war, are so unprofitably employed in times of peace. No. IX.

This wall of Severus, and its fortresses, proved an impenetrable barrier to the Roman territories for near two hundred years. But about the beginning of the fifth century, the Roman empire being assaulted on all sides, and the bulk of their forces withdrawn from Britain, the Maeatae and Caledonians, now called Scots and Picts, became more daring, and some of them breaking through the wall, and others sailing round the ends of it, they carried their ravages into the very heart of Provincial Britain. These invaders were indeed several times repulsed after this by the Roman legions sent to the relief of the Britons. The last of these legions, under the command of Gallio of Ravenna, having, with the assistance of the Britons, thoroughly repaired the breaches of Severus's wall, and its fortresses, and exhorted the Britons to make a brave defence, took their final farewell of Britain^a. It soon appeared that the strongest walls and ramparts are no security to an undisciplined and dastardly rabble, as the unhappy Britons then were. The Scots and Picts met with little resistance in breaking through the wall, whose towns and castles were tamely abandoned to their destructive rage. In many places they levelled it with the ground, that it might prove no obstruction to their future inroads. From this time no attempts were ever made to repair this noble work. Its beauty and grandeur procured it no respect in the dark and tasteless ages which succeeded. It became the common quarry for more than a thousand years, out of which all the towns and villages around were built; and is now so entirely ruined, that the penetrating eyes of the most poring and patient antiquarian can hardly trace its vanishing foundations. Jam seges est ubi Troia fuit.

^a Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 12.

NUMBER X.

AS it is proposed to give a short specimen of the language of the people of Great Britain in the several periods of their history, the Lord's Prayer is chosen for this purpose, being universally known, and not very long. In the present period, it may be proper to give copies of this prayer, in the ancient British, which is supposed to have been the general language of the ancient Britons, and a dialect of the Celtic—in the Welsh—Cornish—Erse—and Irish, which were spoken by their posterity in Wales, Cornwall, the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland.

I.

The LORD's PRAYER in the ancient British Language.

EYEN Taad rhuvn wytyn y nefoedodd;
 Santeiddier yr hemvu taw:
 De vedy dyrnas daw:
 Guueler dy wollys arryddayar megis agyn y nefi.
 Eyn-bara beunydda vul dyro inniheddivu:
 Ammaddew yuny eyn deledion, megis agi maddevu in
 deledvuir ninaw:
 Agna thowys ni in brofedigaeth:
 Namyn gvaredni rhag drug. Amen.

II.

The LORD's PRAYER in Welsh.

EIN Tâd yr hwn wyt yn y nefoed
 Sancteiddier dy Enw,
 Deved dy Deyntas,
 Gwneler dy Ewyllys megis yn ynefar y ddaiair hefyd,
 Dyro ini heddyw ein bara beunyddioll,
 Ammaddew

Ammaddew ini ein dyledion fel y maddeuwn ninnow in
dylcd-wyr,

No. X.

Ac nac arwain ni i brofedegaeth,

Either gwared ni rhag drwg

Cannys eiddol ti yw'r deyrnas, a'r nerth, a'r gogoniant,
yn oes oesoedd. Amen.

III.

The LORD's PRAYER in the Cornish Language.

NY Taz ez yn neaw.

Bonegas yw tha hanauw.

Tha Gwlakath doaz.

Tha bonogath bogwees en nore pocoragen neaw.

Roe thenyen dythma gon dyth bara givians.

Ny gan rabn weery cara ni givians mens.

O cabin ledia ny nara idn tentation.

Buz deliver ny thart doeg. Amen.

IV.

The LORD's PRAYER in the Erse Language.

AR Nathairne ata ar neamh.

Goma beannuigte hainmfa.

Gu deig do Rioghachdfa.

Dentar do Tholfi air dtalmhuin mar ata air neamh

Tabhair dhuinn ar bhfcacha, amhuil mhathmuid dar
bhfeicheamhnuibh.

Agas na leig ambuadhread sinn.

Achd faor sin o olc.

Oir is leatfa an Rioghachd an cumhachd agas an gloir
gu scorraidh. Amen.

V. *The*

The LORD'S PRAYER in the Irish Language.

AR Nathair ata ar neamh.
Naomhthar hainm.

Tigeadh do rioghachd.

Deuntar do thoil ar an tralamh, mar do nithear ar neamh.

Ar naran laeathcamhail tabhair dhuinn a niw.

Agus maith dhuinn or bhfiaeha mar mhaitmidne dar
bhfeitheamhnuibh fein.

Agus na leig-finn a ccatghuhadh.

Achd faor inn o olc.

Oir is leachd fein an rioghachd an cumhachd, agus an
ghloer go sctorruighe. Amen^b.

^b See Oratio Dominica in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas versa.
Editore Joanne Chamberlaynio, p. 47, 48, 49, 50. 52.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

